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PREFACE.

THE main object which I have proposed to myself in this volume is to collect, translate, and illustrate the principal passages in the different Indian books of the greatest antiquity, as well as in others of comparatively modern composition, which describe the creation of mankind and the origin of classes, or which tend to throw light upon the manner in which the caste system may have arisen.

I have not, however, hesitated to admit, when they fell in my way, such passages explanatory of the cosmogonic or mythological conceptions of the Indians as possess a general interest, although not immediately connected with the chief subject of the book.

Since the first edition appeared my materials have so much increased that the volume has now swelled to more than twice its original bulk. The second and third chapters are almost entirely new.¹ The fourteenth and fifteenth sections of the fourth chapter are entirely so. Even those parts of the book of which the sub-

¹ The contents of these chapters are not, however, absolutely new, but drawn from articles which I have contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* since the first edition of the volume appeared

stance remains the same have been so generally expanded that comparatively little continues without some alteration of greater or less importance.

In order that the reader may learn at once what he may expect to find in the following pages, I shall supply here a fuller and more connected summary of their contents than is furnished by the table which follows this preface.

The introduction (pp. 1-6) contains a very rapid survey of the sources from which our information on the subject of caste is to be derived, viz. the Vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Epic poems, and the Purāṇas, in which the chronological order and the general characteristics of these works are stated.

The first chapter (pp. 1-160) comprehends the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of castes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas. The first section (pp. 7-15) contains a translation of the celebrated hymn called Puruṣa Sūkta, which appears to be the oldest extant authority for attributing a separate origin to the four castes, and a discussion of the question whether the creation there described was intended by its author to convey a literal or an allegorical sense. The second, third, and fourth sections (pp. 15-34) adduce a series of passages from the works standing next in chronological order to the hymns of the Rig-veda, which differ more or less widely from the account of the creation given in the Puruṣa Sūkta, and therefore justify the conclusion

that in the Vedic age no uniform orthodox and authoritative doctrine existed in regard to the origin of castes. In the fifth section (pp. 35-42) the different passages in Manu's Institutes which bear upon the subject are quoted, and shewn to be not altogether in harmony with each other. The sixth section (pp. 43-49) describes the system of great mundane periods called *Manvantaras*, and *Kalpas*, as explained in the *Purāṇas*, and shews that no traces of these periods are to be found in the hymns of the *Rig-veda*, and but few in the *Brāhmaṇas* (compare p. 215 f.). Sections seventh and eighth (pp. 49-107) contain the accounts of the different creations, including that of the castes, and of the primeval state of mankind, which are given in the *Vishṇu*, *Vāyu*, and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*, together with references (see pp. 52 ff., 68 ff.) to passages in the *Brāhmaṇas*, which appear to have furnished some of the germs of the various Puranic representations, and a comparison of the details of the latter with each other which proves that in some respects they are mutually irreconcilable (see pp. 65 ff., 102 ff.). The ninth section (pp. 107-114) adduces the accounts of *Brahmā's* passion for his daughter, which are given in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Matsya Purāṇa*. In the tenth section (pp. 114-122) are embraced such notices connected with the subject of this volume as I have observed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In one of the passages men of all the four castes are said to be the offspring of Manu, a female, the daughter of *Dakṣa*, and wife of *Kaśyapa*. The eleventh section contains a collection of texts from the *Mahābhārata* and its appendage the *Hari-*

vaṁśa, in which various and discrepant explanations are given of the existing diversity of castes, one of them representing all the four classes as descendants of Manu Vaivasvata (p. 126), others attributing the distinction of classes to an original and separate creation of each, which, however, is not always described as occurring in the same manner (pp. 128 ff. and 153); whilst others, again, more reasonably, declare the distinction to have arisen out of differences of character and action. This section, as well as the one which precedes it, also embraces accounts of the perfection which prevailed in the first yugas, and of the gradually increasing degeneracy which ensued in those that followed. The twelfth section (pp. 155-158) contains extracts from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which coincide for the most part with those drawn from the other authorities. One text, however, describes mankind as the offspring of Aryaman and Mātrikā; and another distinctly declares that there was originally but one caste. The thirteenth section (pp. 159 f.) sums up the results of the entire chapter, and asserts the conclusion that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent theory of the origin of caste; but, on the contrary, offer a great variety of explanations, mythical, mystical, and rationalistic, to account for this social phenomenon.

The second chapter (pp. 160-238) treats of the tradition of the descent of the Indian nation from Manu. The first section (pp. 162-181) contains a series of texts from the Rig-veda, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the race to which the authors of the hymns

belonged, and as the first institutor of religious rites; and adverts to certain terms employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general or to signify certain tribal divisions. The second section (pp. 181-196) adduces a number of legends and notices regarding Manu from the Brāhmaṇas and other works next in order of antiquity to the hymns of the Rig-veda. The most interesting and important of these legends is that of the deluge, as given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is afterwards (pp. 216 ff.) compared with the later versions of the same story found in the Mahābhārata and the Matsya, Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas, which are extracted in the third section (pp. 196-220). Some remarks of M. Burnouf and Professor Weber, on the question whether the legend of a deluge was indigenous in India, or derived from a Semitic source, are noticed in pp. 215 f. The fourth section adduces the legendary accounts of the rise of castes among the descendants of Manu and Atri, which are found in the Purāṇas; and quotes a story given in the Mahābhārata about king Vitāhavya, a Kshattriya, being transformed into a Brāhman by the mere word of the sage Bhṛigu.

In the third chapter (pp. 239-295) I have endeavoured to shew what light is thrown by a study of the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas upon the mutual relations of the different classes of Indian society at the time when those hymns were composed. In the first section (pp. 240-265) the various texts of the Rig-veda in which the words brāhmān and brāhmaṇa occur are cited, and an attempt is made to determine the senses in which those

words are there employed. The result of this examination is that in none of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except the Purusha Sūkta, is there any distinct reference to a recognized system of four castes, although the occasional use of the word Brāhmaṇa, which is apparently equivalent to Brāhmā-putra, or "the son of a priest," and other indications seem to justify the conclusion that the priesthood had already become a profession, although it did not yet form an exclusive caste (see pp. 258 f., 263 ff.). The second section (pp. 265–280) is made up of quotations from the hymns of the Rig-veda and various other later works, adduced to shew that persons who according to ancient Indian tradition were not of priestly families were in many instances reputed to be authors of Vedic hymns, and in two cases, at least, are even said to have exercised priestly functions. These two cases are those (1) of Devāpi (pp. 269 ff.), and (2) of Viśvāmitra, which is afterwards treated at great length in the fourth chapter. This section concludes with a passage from the Matsya Purāṇa, which not only speaks of the Kshatriyas Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, as "utterers of Vedic hymns" (*mantrā-vādinah*); but also names three Vaiśyas, Bhālanda, Vandya, and Sankīrtti, as "composers of hymns" (*mantra-kṛitah*). The third section (pp. 280–289) shews by quotations from the Atharva-veda that at the period when those portions of that collection which are later than the greater part of the Rig-veda were composed, the pretensions of the Brāhmans had been considerably developed. The fourth section (pp. 289–295) gives an account of the opinions expressed by Professor

R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of castes.

The fourth chapter (pp. 296-479) contains a series of legendary illustrations derived from the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas, of the struggle which appears to have occurred in the early ages of Indian history between the Brāhmanas and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute an exclusive sacerdotal class, but before their rights had become accurately defined by long prescription, and when the members of the ruling caste were still indisposed to admit their pretensions. I need not here state in detail the contents of the first five sections (pp. 296-317) which record various legends descriptive of the ruin which is said to have overtaken different princes by whom the Brāhmanas were slighted and their claims resisted. The sixth and following sections down to the thirteenth (pp. 317-426) contain, first, such references to the two renowned rivals, Vasishtā and Viśvāmitra as are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and which represent them both as Vedic rishis; secondly, such notices of them as occur in the Brāhmanas, and shew that Viśvāmitra, as well as Vasishtā, had officiated as a priest; and, thirdly, a series of legends from the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata which describe the repeated struggles for superiority in which they were engaged, and attempt, by a variety of fictions, involving miraculous elements, to explain the manner in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman, and to account for the fact which was so distinctly certified by tradition (see pp. 361 ff.), but appeared so un-

accountable in later ages (see pp. 265 f., 364 ff.), that that famous personage, although notoriously a Kshattriya by birth, had nevertheless exercised sacerdotal functions.² The fourteenth section (pp. 426-430) contains a story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka, a Rājanya, renowned for his stoical temperament and religious knowledge, who communicated theological instruction to

² As I have omitted in the body of the work to say anything of the views of Signor Angelo de Gubernatis about the purport of the Vedic texts relating to Vasishtha and Visvāmtra, I may state here that this young Italian Sanskritist, in his Essay, entitled "*Fonti Vediche dell' Epopea*" (see the *Rivista Orientale*, vol. i pp. 409 ff., 478 ff.), combats the opinion of Professor Roth that these passages refer to two historical personages, and to real events in which they played a part, and objects that Roth "took no account of the possibility that a legend of the heavens may have been based upon a human foundation" (p. 409). Signor de Gubernatis further observes that the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third Mandala of the Rig-veda "may perhaps have been recited at a later period in connection with some battle which really occurred, but that the fact which they celebrate seems to be much more ancient, and to be lost in a very remote myth" (p. 410). Visvāmtra, he considers, is one of the appellations of the sun, and as both the person who bears this name, and Indra are the sons of Kusika, they must be brothers (p. 412. See, however, the remarks in p. 347 f. of this volume on the epithet Kausika as applied to Indra). Sudās, according to Signor de Gubernatis (p. 413), denotes the horse of the sun, or the sun himself, while Vasishtha is the greatest of the Vasus, and denotes Agni, the solar fire, and means, like Visvāmtra, the sun (p. 483). Signor de Gubernatis is further of opinion (pp. 414, 478, 479, and 483) that both the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third, and the 18th hymn of the seventh Mandala are comparatively modern; that the names of Kusikas and Visvāmtras claimed by the authors of the two former, are fraudulently assumed; while the last (the 18th hymn of the seventh Mandala) was composed by a sacerdotal family who claimed Vasishtha as its founder. I will only remark that the theory of Signor de Gubernatis appears to me to be an improbable one. But the only point of much importance for my own special purpose is that ancient Indian tradition represents both Vasishtha and Visvāmtra as real personages, the one of either directly divine, or of sacerdotal descent, and the other of royal lineage. They may, however, have been nothing more than legendary creations, the fictitious oponym of the families which bore the same name.

some eminent Brāhmans, and became a member of their class. In the fifteenth section (pp. 431-436) two other instances are adduced from the same Brāhmaṇa and from two of the Upanishads, of Kshattriyas who were in possession of truths unknown to the Brāhmans, and who, contrary to the usual rule, became the teachers of the latter. The sixteenth section (pp. 436-440) contains an extract from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa regarding king Viśvantara who, after at first attempting to prevent the Syāparṇa Brāhmans from officiating at his sacrifice, became at length convinced by one of their number of their superior knowledge, and accepted their services. In the seventeenth section (pp. 440-442) a story is told of Matanga, the spurious offspring of a Brāhman woman by a man of inferior caste, who failed, in spite of his severe and protracted austerities, to elevate himself (as Viśvāmītra had done) to the rank of a Brāhman. The eighteenth section (pp. 442-479) contains a series of legends, chiefly from the Mahābhārata, regarding the repeated exterminations of the Kshattriyas by the warlike Brāhman Paraśurāma of the race of Bhṛigu, and the ultimate restoration of the warrior tribe, and a variety of extravagant illustrations of the supernatural power of the Brāhmans, related by the god Vāyu to king Arjuna, who began by denying the superiority of the priests, but was at length compelled to succumb to the overwhelming evidence adduced by his aerial monitor.

In the fifth chapter (pp. 480-488) I have given some account of the opinions entertained by Manu, and the

authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, regarding the origin of the tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, but not comprehended in the Indian caste-system.

The sixth and concluding chapter (pp. 489-504) contains the Puranic accounts of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha, or India, embracing first, the other eight Varshas or divisions of Jambudvīpa, the central continent; secondly, the circular seas and continents (dvīpas) by which Jambudvīpa is surrounded; and, thirdly, the remoter portions of the mundane system.

The Appendix (pp. 505-515) contains some supplementary notes.

As in the previous edition, I have been careful to acknowledge in the text and notes of this volume the assistance which I have derived from the writings of the different Sanskrit Scholars who have treated of the same subjects. It will, however, be well to specify here the various publications to which I have been indebted for materials. In 1858, I wrote thus: "It will be seen at once that my greatest obligations are due to Professor H. H. Wilson, whose translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, with abundant and valuable notes, derived chiefly from the other Purāṇas, was almost indispensable to the successful completion of such an attempt as the present." In this second edition also I have had constant occasion to recur to Wilson's important work, now improved and enriched by the additional notes of the editor Dr. Fitzedward Hall. It is to his edition, so far as it has yet ap-

peared, that my references have been made. I acknowledged at the same time the aid which I had received from M. Langlois' French translation of the *Harivaṁśa*, and from M. Burnouf's French translation of the first nine books of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which opened up an easy access to the contents of the original works. A large amount of materials has also been supplied to me, either formerly or for the preparation of the present edition, by Mr. Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*; by Professor C. Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*; Professor Rudolph Roth's *Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Vedas*, and contributions to the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, and to Weber's *Indische Studien*, etc.; Professor Weber's numerous articles in the same *Journals*, and his *History of Indian Literature*; Professor Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, *Chips from a German Workshop*, article on the Funeral rites of the *Brāhmans*, etc.; Professor Benfey's *Glossary of the Sāma Veda*, and translations of Vedic hymns; Dr. Haug's text and translation of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*: while much valuable aid has been derived from the written communications with which I have been favoured by Professor Aufrecht, as well as from his *Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS.* I am also indebted to Professor Müller for pointing out two texts which will be found in the Appendix, and to Professor Goldstucker for copying for me two passages of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Mīmamsā-vārttika*, which are printed in the same place, and for making some corrections in my translations of them.

I formerly observed that at the same time my own researches had "enabled me to collect a good many texts which I had not found elsewhere adduced;" and the same remark applies to a considerable portion of the new matter which has been adduced in the present edition.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 23, line 19, for "beingy ellow" read "being yellow."	
" 38, " 17 ff, for "59-64" read "58-63"	
" 42, " 4 from foot, for "p 36" read "p 37."	
" 46, " 26, for "p. 42" read "p. 43."	
" 47, " 8, for "12,826" read "iii. 826."	
" 51, " 17, for "Purushottama" read "Purushottama."	
" 123, " 19, for "to" read "tu."	
" 127, " 18 f., for "the two by which these three are followed," read "two of those which follow, viz in pp 134 and 139."	
" 136, " 18, for "116" read "11 and 12."	
" 169, " 26, for "Vivasvat" read "Vivasvat"	
" 170, " 28 and 33, for "Mutariswan" read "Mutarisvan."	
" 171, " 26, for "As'win" read "Asvina."	
" 180, " 28, before "Prajāpati" insert "ii 33."	
" 194, " 5, for "mā bhaya" read "mā ābhaya."	
" 221, " 20, before "Prishadhvas" insert "iv 1, 12."	
" 222, " 7, for "ix. 2" read "ix 2, 16"	
" — " 13, before "Nabhāgo" insert "iv. 1. 14."	
" 236, " 19, for "iv." read "ix."	
" 251, " 27, for "3" read "2."	
" 258, " 3 from the foot, for "viii." read "vii."	
" 274, " 8, for "Dilīpāt" read "Dilīpāt."	
" 280, " 14, for "was" read "were."	
" 307, " 10, for "evāṇ" read "evāṇ."	
" 308, " 24, before "Nakusha" insert "12460."	
" 318, " 4, for "139 f." read "161 f."	
" 371, " 12, for "vii." read "vna."	
" 399, " 18, for "58, 18" read "56, 18."	
" 487, " 2, for "thei rdesertion" read "their desertion."	

ORIGINAL · SANSKRIT TEXTS.

PART FIRST.

INTRODUCTION

CONTAINING A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

I PROPOSE in the present volume to give some account of the traditions, legends, and mythical narratives which the different classes of ancient Indian writings contain regarding the origin of mankind, and the classes or castes into which the Hindus have long been distributed. In order to ascertain whether the opinions which have prevailed in India on these subjects have continued fixed and uniform from the earliest period, or whether they have varied from age to age, and if so, what modifications they have undergone, it is necessary that we should first of all determine the chronological order of the various works from which our information is to be drawn. This task of classification can, as far as regards its great outlines, be easily accomplished. Although we cannot discover sufficient grounds for fixing with any precision the dates of these different books, we are perfectly able to settle the order in which the most important of those which are to form the basis of this investigation were composed. From a comparison of these several literary records, it will be found that the Hindus, like all other civilized nations, have passed through various stages of development,—social, moral, religious, and intellectual. The ideas and beliefs which are exhibited in their oldest documents, are not the same as those which we encounter in their later writings.

The principal books to which we must look for information on the subjects of our enquiry are the Vedas, including the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, the Sūtras, the Institutes of Manu, and the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. Of these different classes of works, the Vedas are allowed by all competent enquirers to be by far the most ancient.

There are, as every student of Indian literature is aware, four Vedas,—the Rīg-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Yajur-veda, and the Atharva-veda. Each of the collections of works known as a Veda consists of two parts, which are called its *mantra* and its *brāhmaṇa*.¹ The Mantras are either metrical hymns, or prose forms of prayer. The Rīg-veda and the Sāmaveda consist only of mantras of the former description. The Brāhmaṇas contain regulations regarding the employment of the mantras, and the celebration of the various rites of sacrifice, and also embrace certain treatises called Āraṇyakas, and others called Upanishads or Vedāntas (so called from their being the concluding portions of each Veda), which expound the mystical sense of some of the ceremonies, and discuss the nature of the godhead, and the means of acquiring religious knowledge with a view to final liberation.

The part of each Veda which contains the mantras, or hymns, is called its Sanhitā.² Thus the Rīg-veda Sanhitā means the collection of hymns belonging to the Rīg-veda. Of the four collections of hymns, that belonging to the last-mentioned Veda, which contains no less than 1,017 of these compositions, is by far the most important for historical purposes. Next in value must be reckoned those hymns of the Atharva-veda, which are peculiar to that collection, another portion of which, however, is borrowed, in most cases, verbatim, from the Rīg-veda.³

¹ Śāyana says in his commentary on the Rīgveda (vol. p. i. p. 4). *Mantra-brāhmanūmakam tīvad aduṣṭam lakṣaṇam | ata eva Apastambo yajna-paribhāṣāyām evāha 'mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nūmadheyam' |* "The definition (of the Veda) as a book composed of *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says in the Yajnaparibhāṣā, 'Mantra and Brāhmaṇa have the name of Veda'."

² This definition applies to all the Sanhitās, except that of the Taittiriya, or black Yajur, Veda, in which Mantra and Brāhmaṇa are combined. But even this Sanhitā had a separate Brāhmaṇa connected with it. See Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 350, and Weber's *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 83. The general character of the Vājasaneyi and Atharva Sanhitās is not affected by the fact that the last section of the former is an Upanishad, and that the fifteenth book of the latter has something of the nature of a Brāhmaṇa.

³ For further information on the Vedas, reference may be made to Professor Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, *passim*, and also to vols. ii. iii. and iv. of the present work.

From this succinct account of the contents of the Vedas, it is clear that the Mantras must constitute their most ancient portions, since the Brāhmanas, which regulate the employment of the hymns, of necessity pre-suppose the earlier existence of the latter. On this subject the commentator on the Taittirīya, or Black Yajur-veda, Sanhitā thus expresses himself (p. 9 of the Calcutta edition):—

*Yadyapi mantrabrāhmaṇātmake vedas tathāpi brāhmaṇasya mantra-
vyākṛhāna-rūpalvād mantrā evādaḥ samāmnātāḥ* | “Although the Veda
is formed both of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, yet as the Brāhmaṇa consists
of an explanation of the Mantras, it is the latter which were at first
recorded.”⁴

The priority of the hymns to the Brāhmanas is accordingly attested by the constant quotations from the former which are found in the latter.⁵ Another proof that the hymns are far older than any other portion of Indian literature is to be found in the character of their language. They are composed in an ancient dialect of the Sanskrit, containing many words of which the sense was no longer known with certainty in the age of Yāska, the author of the Nirukta,⁶ and many grammatical forms which had become obsolete in the time of the great grammarian Pāṇini, who refers to them as peculiar to the hymns (*chhandas*).⁷ A third argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the mantras is supplied by the fact that the gods whom they represent as the most prominent objects of adoration, such as Indra and Varuṇa, occupy but a subordinate position in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, whilst others, viz., Vishnu and Rudra, though by no means the most important deities of the hymns, are exalted to the first rank, and assume a different character, in the Puranic pantheon.⁸

⁴ See also the passage quoted from the Nirukta in p. 174 of the 2nd vol of this work, and that cited from Sāyana in p. 195 of the same vol. Compare the following passage of the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, i. 2, 1 *Tad etat satyam mantrishu karmāṇa kavayo yāny apasyams tāni tretāyām bahudhā santatāni* | “This is true—the rites which the ṛishis saw (i.e. discovered by revelation) in the hymns—these rites were in great variety celebrated in the Tretā (age).”

⁵ See vol. ii. of this work, p. 195, and the article on the “Interpretation of the Veda” in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 316 ff.

⁶ See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 173 ff, and my article on the “Interpretation of the Veda” in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 323 ff.

⁷ See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 216 ff.

⁸ See vol. ii. of this work, 212 ff, and vol. iv. 1, 2, and *passim*.

On all these grounds it may be confidently concluded that the mantras, or hymns, of the Rig-veda are by far the most ancient remains of Indian literature. The hymns themselves are of different periods, some being older, and some more recent. This is shown not only by the nature of the case,—as it is not to be supposed that the whole of the contents of such a large national collection as the Rig-veda Saṁhitā should have been composed by the men of one, or even two, generations,—but also by the frequent references which occur in the mantras themselves to older rishis, or poets, and to older hymns.⁹ It is, therefore, quite possible that a period of several centuries may have intervened between the composition of the oldest and that of the most recent of these poems. But if so, it is also quite conceivable that in this interval considerable changes may have taken place in the religious ideas and ceremonies, and in the social and ecclesiastical institutions of the people among whom these hymns were produced, and that some traces of these changes may be visible on comparing the different hymns with each other.

No sufficient data exist for determining with exactness the period at which the hymns were composed. Professor Muller divides them into two classes, the Mantras or more recent hymns, which he supposes may have been produced between 1000 and 800 years,—and the older hymns, to which he applies the name of Chhandas, and which he conceives may have been composed between 1200 and 1000 years,—before the Christian era. Other scholars are of opinion that they may be even older (see Muller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 572, and the Preface to the 4th Vol. of the same author's edition of the Rig-veda, pp. iv.-xiii). This view is shared by Dr. Haug, who thus writes in his introduction to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, p. 47: "We do not hesitate, therefore, to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to the years 1400-1200 B.C.; for the Saṁhitā we require a period of *at least* 500-600 years, with an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the proper Brāhmaṇa period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of Saṁhitā the space from 1400-2000; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2000-2400 B.C."

⁹ See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 206 ff., and vol. iii., pp. 116 ff., 121 ff.

Next in order of time to the most recent of the hymns come, of course, the Brāhmaṇas. Of these (1) the Aitareya and Sāṅkhāyana are connected with the Rig-veda; (2) the Tāndya, the Panchaviṃśa and the Chhāndogya with the Sāma-veda; (3) the Taittiriya with the Taittiriya or Black Yajur-veda; (4) the Śatapatha with the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā or White Yajur-veda; and (5) the Gopatha with the Atharva-veda.¹⁰ These works, written in prose, prescribe, as I have already intimated, the manner in which the Mantras are to be used and the various rites of sacrifice to be celebrated. They also expound the mystical signification of some of the ceremonies, and adduce a variety of legends to illustrate the origin and efficacy of some of the ritual prescriptions. That in order of age the Brāhmaṇas stand next to the Mantras is proved by their simple, antiquated, and tautological style, as well as by the character of their language, which, though approaching more nearly than that of the hymns, to classical or Pāṇinian Sanskrit, is yet distinguished by certain archaisms both of vocabulary and of grammatical form which are unknown to the Itihāsas and Purāṇas.¹¹ The most recent portions of the Brāhmaṇas are the Aranyakas and Upanishads, of which the character and contents have been already summarily indicated. The remaining works which form the basis of our investigations come under the designation of Smṛiti, as distinguished from that of Śruti, which is applied to the Mantras, Brāhmaṇas, Aranyakas, and Upanishads.

The term Smṛiti includes (1) the Vedāṅgas, such as the Nirukta of Yāska, (2) the Sūtras or aphorisms, *śrauta* and *grīhya*, or sacrificial and domestic, etc., (3) the Institutes of Manu, (4) the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. To the class of Itihāsas belong (1) the Rāmāyaṇa (said to be the work of Valmiki), which contains an account in great part, at least, fabulous, of the adventures of Rāma, and the Mahābhārata, which describes the wars and adventures of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus, and embraces also a great variety of episodes and numerous mythological narratives, as well as religious, philosophical, and political discussions, which are interwoven with, or interpolated in, the framework of the poem. This

¹⁰ For further details on these Brāhmaṇas, the reader may consult Professor Max Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 315 ff., Professor Weber's *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, and *Indische Studien*, and Dr. Haug's *Aitareya Brahmana*.

¹¹ See, for example, the *S. P. Br.* xi. 5, 1, 15, and the *Taitt. Sanhitā*, ii. 2, 10, 2, and ii. 6, 7, 1.

work is said to be the production of Vyāsa, but its great bulk, its almost encyclopædic character, and the discrepancies in doctrine which are observable between its different parts, lead inevitably to the conclusion that it is not the composition of a single author, but has received large additions from a succession of writers, who wished to obtain currency and authority for their several opinions by introducing them into this great and venerated repository of national tradition.¹²

The Purāṇas are commonly said to be eighteen in number, in addition to certain inferior works of the same description called Upapurāṇas. For an account of these books and a summary of their contents, I must refer to the late Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to his translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.¹³

In treating the several topics which are to be handled in this volume, I propose in each case to adduce, first, any texts bearing upon it which may be found in the hymns of the ṛig-veda; next, those in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages; and, lastly, those occurring in any of the different classes of works coming under the designation of Smṛiti. By this means we shall learn what conceptions or opinions were entertained on each subject by the oldest Indian authors, and what were the various modifications to which these ideas were subjected by their successors.

¹² On the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, see Professor Monier Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," which contains a careful analysis of the leading narrative of each of the poems.

¹³ See also the same author's analyses of the contents of the Vishṇu, Vāyu, Agni, and Brāhma-vaiṣvartta Purāṇas in the "Gleanings of Science," published in Calcutta, and those of the Brāhma and Pādma Purāṇas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. ix (1838) and No. x. (1839).

CHAPTER I.

MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR CASTES.

It will be seen from the different texts to be adduced in this chapter, that from a very early period the Indian writers have propounded a great variety of speculations regarding the origin of mankind, and of the classes or castes into which they found their own community divided. The most commonly received of these explanations is the fable which represents the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, to have been separately created from the head, the breast or arms, the thighs, and the feet of the Creator. Of this mythical account no trace is to be found in any of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except one, the *Purusha Sūkta*.

Although for reasons which will be presently stated, I esteem it probable that this hymn belongs to the most recent portion of the Rig-veda, it will be convenient to adduce and to discuss it first, along with certain other texts from the Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas, which professedly treat of the origin of mankind and of caste, before we proceed to examine the older parts of the hymn-collection, with the view of ascertaining what opinion the authors of them appear to have entertained in regard to the earliest history of their race, and to the grounds of those relations which they found subsisting between the different classes of society contemporary with themselves.

SECT. I.—90th Hymn of the 10th Book of the *Rig-veda Samhitā*, called *Purusha Sūkta*, or the hymn to *Purusha*.

This celebrated hymn contains, as far as we know, the oldest extant passage which makes mention of the fourfold origin of the Hindu race.

In order to appreciate the character of this passage, we must consider it in connection with its context. I therefore quote the whole of the hymn :¹⁴

R. V. x. 90. 1. *Sahasra-śīrṣhā Puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasra-pāt | sa bhūmim viśvato vṛtvā atyatiśīḥhad daśāṅgulam |* 2. *Puruṣaḥ evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtāṁ yachecha bhūvyam | utāmṛitatvasyeśāno yad annenātirohati |* 3. *Etāvān asya mahimā ato jyāyāṁścha Pūruṣaḥ | pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛitaṁ divi |* 4. *Tripād ūrdhva ud ait Pūruṣaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat punaḥ | tato viśvān vyākṛmat sāsānānaśano abhi |* 5. *tasmād Virāḥ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūruṣaḥ | sa jāto aty arichyata paśchād bhūmim atho puraḥ |* 6. *Yat Puruṣeṇa haviṣā devāḥ yajnam atānvata | vasanto asyāsīd ājyam grīṣhmaḥ idhmaḥ śarad haviḥ |* 7. *Taṁ yajnam barhiṣi praukṣhan Puruṣaṁ jātam agrataḥ | tēna devāḥ ayajanta sādhyāḥ riṣhayaś cha ye, |* 8. *Tasmād yajñāt sarvahuṭaḥ sambhṛitam pṛiṣhadājyam | paśūn tāṁś'chakre vāyavyān āraṇyān grāmyās cha ye |* 9. *Tasmād yajñāt sarvahuṭaḥ riṣhaḥ sāmāni jajñire | chhandāṁś jajñire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata |* 10. *Tasmād āśvā ajāyanta ye ke cha ubhayādātaḥ | gāvo ha jajñire tasmāt tasmāj jātāḥ ajāvayaḥ |* 11. *Yat Puruṣaṁ vi adadhuh katidhū vi akalpayan | mukham kim asya kau bāhū kā ūrū pādā uchyete |* 12. *Brāhmanō 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛtāḥ | ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata |* 13. *chandramāḥ manaso jātāś'chalakṣho sūryo ajāyata | mukhād Indrāś'cha Agniś'cha prāṇād Vāyur ajāyata |* 14. *Nābhyaḥ āsīd antariṣham śīrṣhō dyauḥ samavarttata | padbhyāṁ bhūmir diśaḥ śrotāt tathā lokān akalpayan |* 15. *Saptāsyūsan paridhayaś triḥ sapta samīdhaḥ kṛtāḥ | devāḥ yad yajnam tantvānāḥ ābādhan Puruṣam paśum |* 16. *Yajnena yajnaṁ ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṁ pratha-*

¹⁴ The Puruṣa Sūkta is also found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the White Yajur-veda (31. 1-16) and in the Atharva-veda (19. 6. 1 ff.). See Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, i. 167 f., and note in p. 309 (or pp. 104, and 197, of Messrs. Williams and Norgate's edition), Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vol. i. Preface, pp. cxxii ff.; Wilson's Preface to his translation of the R̥gveda, vol. i. p. xlv.; Professor Roth's remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, i. pp. 78 f.; Müller in Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. History, vol. i. p. 344; Müller's Anc. Sank. Lit., pp. 570 f.; Professor Weber's translation in Indische Studien ix. p. 5, and my own translation, notes and remarks in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 353 f., and for 1866, pp. 282 f.

māni āsan | te ha nākam mahimūnaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve sādhyāḥ santi devāḥ |

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads,¹⁵ a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. On every side enveloping¹⁶ the earth, he overpassed¹⁷ (it) by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since (or, when) by food he expands.¹⁸ 3. Such is his greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky.¹⁹ 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat. 5. From him was born Virāj, and from Virāj, Purusha.²⁰ When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. 6. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering. 7. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on

¹⁵ The Atharva-veda (xix 6, 1) reads *sahasra-bāhuḥ*, "having a thousand arms," the transcriber, perhaps, taking the verse literally, and considering that a being in human form, if he had a thousand eyes and a thousand feet, ought only to have five hundred heads, and not a thousand as in the text of the Rig-veda.

¹⁶ For *eritvā* in the R. V. the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, 31. 1, reads *sprtvā*, which seems to mean nearly the same.

¹⁷ The word is *atyatishthat*. Compare the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, and *atishthāvānah* in S' P. B. iv. 5, 4, 1, 2. Professor Weber renders *atyatishthat* "occupies" (Indische Studien, ix 5).

¹⁸ The sense of this is obscure. Instead of *yad annenūtirohati*, the A. V. reads *yad anyenūbhavat saha*, ("that which," or, "since he) was with another."

¹⁹ Compare A. V. x. 8, 7 *ardhena visvam bhuvanam jayāna yad aśya ardham kva tad baddhva* "with the half he produced the whole world; what became of the (other) half of him?" See also *ibid.* v. 13.

²⁰ This sentence is illustrated by R. V. x 72, 5, where it is said, *Aditer Dakṣo ajāyata Dakṣād u Aditih pari* | "Aditi was born from Dakṣa and Dakṣa from Aditi"—a text on which Yāska remarks (Nirukta, xi 23): *tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syūtām iti | api vā deva-dharmena itaretara-janmānau syūtām itaretatara-prakṛtī* | "how can this be possible? They may have had a common birth; or, conformably with their nature as deities, they may have been produced from one another, and possess the properties of one another." Compare A. V. 13. 4. 29 ff., where Indra is said to have been produced from a great many other gods, or entities, and they reciprocally from him. In regard to Virāj, compare the notes on the verse before us in my article on the "Progress of the Vedic religion," etc., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1886, p. 354.

the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sādhyas,²¹ and the rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal sacrifice were provided ourds and butter. It formed those aerial ²² (creatures) and animals both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the rich and sāmān verses, the metres, and the yajush. 10. From it sprang horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep. 11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? what was his mouth? what arms (had he)? what (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? 12. The Brāhman was his mouth;²³ the Rājanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaiśya, he was his thighs;²⁴ the Sūdra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul (*manas*), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vāyu from his breath ²⁵ 14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters: in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (stuck up) for it

²¹ See on the Sādhyas, Professor Weber's note, Ind. St. ix. 6 f, and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 396, note

²² See, however, Vāj. Sanh. xiv. 30, to be quoted below.

²³ Compare the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, ii. 9 *atha paurṇamāsyām purastāh chandramasam drīṣyamānam upatiśṭheta etayū eva ūrutā* "somo rājāsi vichakṣhāṇo pancha mukho'si prajāpatih | brāhmaṇas te ekam mukham | tena mukhena rājno 'si | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | rājā te ekam mukham | tena mukhena viśo'si | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | śyenas te ekam mukham | ityādi | which is thus translated by Mr. Cowell "Next on the day of the full moon let him in this same way adore the moon when it is seen in front of him (saying), 'thou art Soma, the brilliant, the wise, the five-monthed, the lord of creatures' The Brāhman is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest kings, with that mouth make me to eat food. The king is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest common men, with that mouth make me to eat food. The hawk is one mouth of thine," etc. The fourth mouth is fire, and the fifth is in the moon itself. I should prefer to render the words *somo rājā'si*, "thou art king Soma,"—"king" being a frequent designation of this god in the Brāhmaṇas. See also M. Bh. iii. 12,962, where Viṣṇu is introduced as saying in the same mystical way: *Brahma vaktram bhuyau kshatram ūrū me sāmsthātūh viśah | pādau śūdrāḥ bhavāntime vikramṇa kramṇa cha* | "The Brahman is my mouth, the Kshattria is my arms, the Viśas are my thighs, these Śūdras with their vigour and rapidity are my feet"

²⁴ Instead of *uru*, "thighs," the Atharva-veda, xix. 6, 6, reads *madhyam*, "middle."

²⁵ The Vāj. S. xxxi. 13, has a different and singular reading of the last half verse *śrotrād vāyus'cha prāṇas'cha mukhād agnir ajāyata* | "From his ear came Vāyu and Prāṇa (breath) and from his mouth Agni."

(around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made. 16. With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sādhyas, gods."²⁰

I have above (p. 7) intimated an opinion that this hymn does not belong to the most ancient portion of the Rig-veda. This view is, however, controverted by Dr. Haug, who, in his tract on "the origin of Brāhmanism" (published at Poona in 1863), p. 5, writes as follows: "The few scholars who have been engaged in the study of the Vedas unanimously regard this hymn as a very late production of Vedic poetry, but there is no sufficient evidence to prove that. On the contrary, reasons might be adduced to shew that it is even old. The mystical character of the hymn is no proof at all of its late origin. Such allegorical hymns are to be met with in every book of the collection of the mantras, which goes by the name of Rig-veda samhitā. The Rishis, who were the authors of these hymns, delighted in such speculations. They chiefly were suggested to them by the sacrificial rites, which they daily were performing. According to the position which is assigned to it in the Yajur-veda (where it is found among the formulas referring to the human sacrifice), the hymn appears to have been used at the human sacrifices. That, at the earliest period of the Vedic time, human sacrifices were quite common with the Brahmans, can be proved beyond any doubt. But the more eminent and distinguished among their leaders soon abandoned the practice as revolting to human feelings. The form of the sacrifice, however, seems to have been kept for a long time; for the ritual required at that occasion is actually in the Yajur-veda; but they only tied men of different castes and classes to the sacrificial posts, and released them afterwards, sacrificing animals instead of them."

If it could be satisfactorily shown that this hymn, in the same form as we now possess it, existed contemporaneously with the barbarous practice of human sacrifices which Dr. Haug believes to have at one time prevailed in India, we should, no doubt, have in this circumstance a strong proof of its antiquity. But if it was merely adopted as a part of the ceremonial at a later period, when the immolation of human

²⁰ This verse occurs also in R. V. i. 164. 50, and is quoted in Nirukta, xii. 14. See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 396, note, already referred to.

beings had ceased to be otherwise than formal and nominal, and animals were substituted as the actual victims, the evidence of its remote antiquity is greatly weakened.

If we now compare the *Purusha Sūkta* with the two hymns (162 and 163) of the first Mandala of the *Rig-veda*, it will, I think, be apparent that the first is not adapted to be used at a literal human sacrifice in the same manner as the last two are to be employed at the immolation of a horse. There are, no doubt, some mystical passages in the second of these two hymns, as in verse 3, where the horse is identified with *Yama*, *Āditya*, and *Triṭa*; and "in the last section of the *Taittiriya Yajur-veda* the various parts of the horse's body are described as divisions of time and portions of the universe: 'morning is his head; the sun his eye; the air his breath; the moon his ear,' etc. (Colebrooke's *Essays*, i. 62).²⁷ But the persons who officiate at the sacrifice, as referred to in these hymns, are ordinary priests of the ancient Indian ritual,—the *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *ūvayaj*, etc. (i. 162, 5); and details are given of the actual slaughter of the animal (i. 162, 11). The *Purusha Sūkta*, however does not contain the same indications of the literal immolation of a human victim. In it the sacrifice is not offered to the gods, but by the gods (verses 6, 7, 15, 16); no human priests are mentioned; the division of the victim (v. 11) must be regarded, like its slaughter (v. 7), as the work of the deities only. And the *Purusha* mentioned in the hymn could not well have been regarded as an ordinary man, as he is identified with the universe (v. 2), and he himself, or his immolation, is represented as the source of the creation (vv. 8, 10, 13, 14), and of the *Vedas* (v. 9).

As compared with by far the largest part of the hymns of the *Rig-veda*, the *Purusha Sūkta* has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas. I have already observed that the hymns which we find in this collection are of very different periods. This, I believe, is not disputed.²⁸ The authors themselves, as we have seen, speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this description could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to suppose that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus

²⁷ Compare the commencement of the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad*.

²⁸ See Dr. Haug's own remarks (quoted above, p. 4) on the period when the hymns were composed.

was confined to the period immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions? and, on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sūkta, as well as in hymns x. 71 and 72, x. 81 and 82, x. 121, and x. 129.

On this subject Mr. Colebrooke states his opinion as follows (Miscellaneous Essays i. 309, note): "That remarkable hymn (the Purusha Sūkta) is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanscrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Veda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and prophane (*purāṇas* and *cāryas*), have been written."

Professor Max Muller expresses himself in a similar sense (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.): "There can be little doubt, for instance, that the 90th hymn of the 10th book . . . is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring; Grīshma, summer; and Śarad, autumn; it contains the only passage in the Rig-veda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Grīshma, for instance, the name for the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda; and Vasanta also, the name of spring, does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Vedic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-veda (x. 161. 4), in a passage where the three seasons are mentioned in the order of Śarad, autumn; Hemanta, winter; and Vasanta, spring."

Professor Weber (Indische Studien, ix. 3) concurs in this view. He observes: "That the Purusha Sūkta, considered as a hymn of the Rig-veda, is among the latest portions of that collection, is clearly perceptible from its contents. The fact that the Sāma-sanhitā has not adopted any verse from it, is not without importance (compare what I have remarked in my Academical Prolations, p. 63). The Naigeya school, indeed, appears (although it is not quite certain),²⁹ to have extracted the first five verses in the seventh prapāṭhaka of the first Archika, which is peculiar to it."

We shall see in the following chapter that the word *brāhmaṇa* occurs but rarely in the Rig-veda Sanhitā, while *brahman*, "a priest," from which the former is derived, is of constant occurrence. From this circumstance also, it may be reasonably concluded that the hymns in which the derivative occurs are among the latest. The same remark may be made of the word *vaiśya*, as compared with *viś*.³⁰

Mr. Colebrooke's opinion of the character of the Purusha Sūkta is given in the following passage of his "Miscellaneous Essays" (vol. i. p. 161, note; or p. 105 of Williams & Norgate's ed. of 1858); "I think it unnecessary to quote from the commentary the explanation of this curious passage of the Vedas as it is there given, because it does not really elucidate the sense; the allegory is for the most part sufficiently obvious.

In his tract on "on the origin of Brahmanism," p. 4, Dr. Haug thus remarks on verses 11 and 12: "Now, according to this passage, which is the most ancient and authoritative we have on the origin of Brahmanism, and caste in general, the Brahman has not come from the mouth of this primary being, the Purusha, but the mouth of the latter became the Brahmanical caste, that is to say, was transformed into it. The passage has, no doubt, an allegorical sense. Mouth is the seat of speech. The allegory thus points out that the Brahmans are teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are the seat of strength. If the two

²⁹ See on this subject Weber's foot-note, p. 3.

³⁰ Professor Aufrecht informs me that the word *vaiśya* does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda but the Purusha Sūkta, only once in the Atharva-veda, v. 17, 9, and not at all in the Vaj. Sanh., except in the Purusha Sūkta. The same scholar remarks, as another proof of the comparatively late date of the Purusha Sūkta, that it is the only hymn which refers to the four different kinds of Vedic compositions *ṛch*, *sāmān*, *chhandas*, and *yajush*.

arms of the Purusha are said to have been made a Kshattriya (warrior), that means, then, that the Kshattriyas have to carry arms to defend the empire. That the thighs of the Purusha were transformed into the Vaiśya means that, as the lower parts of the body are the principal repository of food taken, the Vaiśya caste is destined to provide food for the others. The creation of the Shudra from the feet of the Purusha, indicates that he is destined to be a servant to the others, just as the foot serves the other parts of the body as a firm support."

But whether the writer of the hymn intended it to be understood allegorically or not, it conveys no distinct idea of the manner in which he supposed the four castes to have originated. It is, indeed, said that the S'udra sprang from Purusha's feet; but as regards the three superior castes and the members with which they are respectively connected, it is not quite clear which (i.e., the castes or the members) are to be taken as the subjects and which as the predicates, and consequently, whether we are to suppose verse 12 to declare that the three castes were the three members, or, conversely, that the three members were, or became, the three castes.

But whatever may be the sense of the passage, it is impossible to receive it as enunciating any fixed doctrine of the writers of what is called the Vedic age in regard to the origin of the four castes; since we find, if not in the mantras or hymns, at least in the Brāhmaṇas (which, as we have seen in page 2, are esteemed by orthodox Indian writers as being equally with the hymns a part of the Veda), not only (1) texts which agree with the Purusha Sūkta, but also (2) various other and discrepant accounts of the manner in which these classes were separately formed, as well as (3) third a class of narratives of the creation, in which the production of the human race is described without allusion to any primordial distinction of castes.

To the first of these classes (viz., that of texts which coincide more or less exactly with the Purusha Sūkta) belongs the following passage from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

SECT. II.—*Quotation from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, vii. 1. 1. 4 ff.*

Prajāpatir akūmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa mukhatas bruvitām nir-amimita | tam Agnir devatā nvasūyata gāyatrī chhandro rathantaram

sūma brāhmaṇo manushyānām ajah paśūnām | tasmāt te mukhyāḥ mukhato hy asṛijyanta | uraso bāhubhyām panchadaśam niramimīta | tam Indro devatā 'nvasṛijyata trishṭup chhando bṛihat sūma rājanyo manushyānām aṇiḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te vīryāvanto vīryād hy asṛijyanta | madhyataḥ sapṭadaśam niramimīta | tam Viśvedevāḥ devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta jagati chhando vairūpam sūma vaiśyo manushyānām gāvaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te ūdyā annadhānād hy asṛijyanta | tasmād bhūyāṃso 'nyebhyaḥ | bhūyishṭhāḥ hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | pattaḥ ekaviṃśam niramimīta | tam anuṣṭup chhando 'nvasṛijyata vairājam sūma sūdro manushyānām aśvaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt tau bhūta-saṅkrāmīnāv aśvaś cha sūdraś cha | tasmāt sūdro yajne 'navakṛipto na hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | tasmāt pādāv upajīvataḥ | patto hy asṛijyetām | "Prajāpati desirō, 'may I propagate.' He formed the Trivṛit (*stoma*) from his mouth. After it were produced the deity Agni, the metre Gāyatrī, the Sāman (called) Rathantara, of men the Brāhman, of beasts the goats. Hence they are the chief (*mukhyāḥ*), because they were created from the mouth (*mukhataḥ*). From (his) breast, from (his) arms, he formed the Panchadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the god Indra, the Trishṭubh metre, the Sāman (called) Bṛihat, of men the Rājanya, of beasts the sheep. Hence they are vigorous, because they were created from vigour. From (his) middle he formed the Sapṭadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the gods (called) the Viśvedevas, the Jagati metre, the Sāman called the Vairūpa, of men the Vaiśya, of beasts kine. Hence they are to be eaten, because they were created from the receptacle of food. Wherefore they are more numerous than others, for the most numerous deities were created after (the Sapṭadaśa). From his foot he formed the Ekaviṃśa (*stoma*). After it were created the Anuṣṭubh metre, the Sāman called Vairāja, of men the Sūdra, of beasts the horse. Hence these two, both the horse and the Sūdra, are transporters of (other) creatures. Hence (too) the Sūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, because no deities were created after (the Ekaviṃśa). Hence (too) these two subsist by their feet, for they were created from the foot."

SECT. III — *Citations from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, and the Atharva-veda.*

The following texts belong to the second class—*i.e.*, that of those which recognize a distinct origination of the castes, but describe their creation differently from the Puruṣa Sūkta :

S. P. Br. ii. 1, 4, 11 ff.—“*Bhūr*” *iti vai Prajāpatiḥ imāṁ ajanayata “bhuvah” ity antarikṣam “sva” itī divam | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ime lokāḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhiyate | “bhūr” itī vai Prajāpatiḥ brahma ajanayata “bhuvah” itī kṣhatraṁ “sva” itī viśam | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad brahma kṣhatraṁ viś | sarveṇa eva ādhiyate | “bhūr” itī vai Prajāpatiḥ ātmānam ajanayata “bhuvah” itī prajāṁ “sva” itī paśūn | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ātmā prajāḥ paśavaḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhiyate |*

“(Uttering) ‘bhūh,’ Prajāpati generated this earth. (Uttering) ‘bhuvah,’ he generated the air, and (uttering) ‘svah,’ he generated the sky. This universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying ‘bhūh,’ Prajāpati generated the Brahman, (saying) ‘bhuvah,’ he generated the Kṣhatra; (and saying) ‘svah,’ he generated the Viś. All this world is so much as the Brahman, Kṣhatra, and Viś. The fire is placed with the whole. (Saying) ‘bhūh,’ Prajāpati generated himself; (saying) ‘bhuvah,’ he generated offspring; (saying) ‘svah,’ he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole.”

Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2.—*Sarvaṁ hedam brahmaṇā haṁva śriṣṭam | riḡbhyo jātam vaiśyam varṇam āhuḥ | yajurvedam kṣattrīyasyāhur yoṇim | sāma-vedo brāhmaṇānāṁ prasūtiḥ | pūrve pūrvebhyo vaca etad āhuḥ |*

“This entire (universe) has been created by Brahman. Men say that the Vaiśya class was produced from rich-verses. They say that the Yajur-veda is the womb from which the Kṣattrīya was born. The Sāma-veda is the source from which the Brāhmins sprang. This word the ancients declared to the ancients.”

To complete his account of the derivation of the castes from the

Vedas, the author had only to add that the Sūdras had sprung from the Atharvāṅgīrasas (the Atharva-veda); but he perhaps considered that to assign such an origin to the servile order would have been to do it too great an honour.

Vājasaneyā Sanhitā, xiv. 28 ff. (= Taittirīya Sanhitā, iv. 3, 10, 1).—
*ekaya astuvata prajāḥ adhiyanta Prajāpatiḥ adhipatiḥ āsit | tṛiṣṭabhir
 astuvata brahma asṛjyanta Brahmanaspatiḥ adhipatiḥ āsit | pañcabhir
 astuvata bhūtāny asṛjyanta Bhūtānāmpatiḥ adhipatiḥ āsit | saptabhir
 astuvata sapta ṛṣibhyo 'sṛjyanta Dhātū adhipatiḥ āsit | navabhir astu-
 vata pitaro 'sṛjyanta Aditiḥ adhipatny āsit | ekādaśabhir astuvata pitaro
 'sṛjyanta ārtavāḥ adhipatayaḥ āsan | trayodaśabhir astuvata māsā sṛj-
 yanta samvatsaro 'dhipatiḥ āsit | pañcadaśabhir astuvata kṣatratra as-
 ṛjyanta Indro 'dhipatiḥ āsit | saptaśabhir astuvata paśavo 'sṛjyanta
 Bṛihaspatiḥ adhipatiḥ āsit | navadaśabhir astuvata kūrārāyāḥ asṛjyetaṁ
 ahorātre adhipatnī āstām | ekaviṁśatyā astuvata ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛj-
 yanta Varuṇo 'dhipatiḥ āsit | trayaviṁśatyā astuvata kṣudrāḥ paśavo
 'sṛjyanta Pūṣhā adhipatiḥ āsit | pañcaviṁśatyā astuvata aranyāḥ
 paśavo 'sṛjyanta Vāyur adhipatiḥ āsit | saptaśatyā astuvata dyāv-
 prihivī vyantām | Vasavo Rudrā Adityāḥ anuvyāyan | ts eva adhi-
 patayaḥ āsan | navaviṁśatyā astuvata vanaspatayo 'sṛjyanta Somo 'dhipatiḥ
 āsit | ekatviṁśatā astuvata prajā asṛjyanta yavās cha ayavās cha adhi-
 patayaḥ āsan | trayastviṁśatā astuvata bhūtāny asāmyan Prajāpatiḥ
 Parameshthiḥ adhipatiḥ āsit |*

“He lauded with one. Living beings were formed: Prajāpati was the ruler. He lauded with three: the Brahman (Brāhman) was created: Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with five: existing things were created: Bhūtānāmpati was the ruler. He lauded with seven: the seven ṛishis were created: Dhātṛi was the ruler. He lauded with nine: the Fathers were created: Aditi was the ruler. He lauded with eleven: the seasons were created: the Ārtavas were the rulers. He lauded with thirteen: the months were created: the year was the ruler. He lauded with fifteen: the Kshattra (the Kshattriya) was created: Indra was the ruler. He lauded with seventeen: animals were created: Bṛihaspati was the ruler. He lauded with nineteen: the Sūdra and the Arya (Vaiśya) were created: day and night were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-one: animals with undivided hoofs were created: Varuna was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-three:

small animals were created: Pūshan was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-five: wild animals were created: Vāyu was the ruler (compare R.V. x. 90, 8). He lauded with twenty-seven: heaven and earth separated: Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas separated after them: they were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-nine: trees were created: Soma was the ruler. He lauded with thirty-one: living beings were created: The first and second halves of the month²¹ were the rulers. He lauded with thirty-one: existing things were tranquillized: Prajāpati Parameśhthin was the ruler." This passage is explained in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa viii. 4, 3, 1 ff.

The following text is of a somewhat mystical description; but appears to intimate a distinction in nature between the different castes corresponding to that of the gods with whom they are associated:

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 23 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, i. 4, 11 ff. (p. 235).—*"Brahma vai idam agre āsīd ekam eva"* | *tad ekam san na vyabhavat* | | *tat śreṣṭho rūpam aty asrijata kshattraṁ yāny etāni devatrā kshattrāni* | *Indro Varuṇaḥ Somo Rudraḥ Parjanya Yamo Mrityur Īśanah iti* | *tasmāt kshatrat param nāsti* | *tasmād brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyaḥ adhaśtād upāste rājāsūye kshatire eva tad yaśo dadhāti* | *sū eśh kshattrasya yonir yad brahma* | *tasmād yadyapi rājā paramatām gachhati brahma eva antataḥ upanīśrayati svām yonim* | *yah u ha enaṁ hinasti svām sa yonim richhati* | *sa pūpiyān dhavati yathā śreyāṇsam hūmsitrā* | 24. *Sa na eva vyabhavat* | *sa viśam asrijata yāny etāni deva-jātāni gaṇaśh ūkhyāyante vasaro rudraḥ ādityaḥ viśvedevāḥ marutaḥ iti* | 25. *Sa na eva vyabhavat* | *sa śaudram varṇam asrijata pūṣhaṇam* | *īyaṁ vai pūshū īyaṁ hi idam sarvaṁ pushyati yad idam kincha* | 26. *Sa na eva vyabhavat* | *tat śreṣṭho rūpam aty asrijata dharmam* | *tad etat kshatrasya kshattraṁ yad dharmah* | *tasmād dharmāt param nāsti* | *atho abalīyān balīyāṁsam ānāśate dharmena yathā rājā evam* | *yo vai sa dharmah satyaṁ vai tat* | *tasmāt satyaṁ vadantam āhur "dharmam vadati"* | *iti* | *dharmam vā*

²¹ The Taittiriya Sanhitā reads *yāvāḥ* and *ayāvāḥ* (instead of *yāvāḥ* and *ayāvāḥ* as in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā) and in another passage, v. 3, 4, 5 (as I learn from Prof. Aufrecht), explains these terms to mean respectively months and half months (*māsā vai yāvāḥ ardhamaśh ayāvāḥ*), whilst the commentator on the V. S. understands them to mean the first and second halves of the month, in accordance with the S. P. B. viii. 4, 3, 18, and viii. 4, 2, 11 (*pūrapakṣā vai yāvāḥ aparapakṣa ayāvāḥ* | *te hi idam sarvaṁ yuvate chāyuvate cha*) | Prof. Aufrecht also points out that *yāva* is explained in Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, iv. 11, 8, as equivalent to *yavamayam apūpam*, "a cake of barley."

vadantam "satyam vadati" iti | etad hy eva etad ubhayam bhavati |
 27. *Tad etad brahma kshattram viś śūdraḥ | tad Agnīnā eva deveshu*
brahmābhavad brāhmaṇo manushyeshu kshattriyena kshattriyo vaiśyena
vaiśyah śūdreṇa śūdraḥ | tasmād Agnāv eva deveshu lokam ichhante
brāhmaṇe manushyeshu | etābhyām hi rūpabhyām brahma abhavat |

23. "Brahma (here, according to the commentator, existing in the form of Agni, and representing the Brāhman caste³²) was formerly this (universe), one only. Being one, it did not develope. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshattria, viz., those among the gods who are powers (*kshattrāṇi*), Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu, Īśāna. Hence nothing is superior to the Kshattria. Therefore the Brāhman sits below the Kshattriya at the rājasūya-sacrifice; he confers that glory on the Kshattria (the royal power).³³ This, the Brahma, is the source of the Kshattria. Hence, although the king attains supremacy, he at the end resorts to the Brahma as his source. Whoever destroys him (the Brāhman) destroys his own source. He becomes most miserable, as one who has injured a superior. 24. He did not develope. He created the Viś—viz., those classes of gods who are designated by troops, Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvedevas, Maruts. 25. He did not develope. He created the Śūdra class, Pūshan. This earth is Pūshan: for she nourishes all that exists. 26. He did not develope. He energetically created an excellent form, Justice (*Dharma*). This is the ruler (*kshattria*) of the ruler (*kshattria*), namely, Justice. Hence nothing is superior to justice. Therefore the weaker seeks (to overcome) the stronger by justice, as by a king. This justice is truth. In consequence they say of a man who speaks truth, 'he speaks

³² *Ata yad ātma-sabdenoktaṁ srashtri Brahma tad Agnīm srishtvā agre Agni-rūpānam Brāhmaṇa-jyoti-abhimanavad asmin vākye Brahma-sabdenūbhīdhīyate |*

³³ This rendering of the last few words is suggested by Professor Aufrecht. The commentators understand them to mean that the Brāhman gives the king their own glory (that of being a Brahman) and they refer to a formula by which at the rājasūya-sacrifice the king, after addressing the priest as Brāhman, is addressed in return with the word "Thou, king, art a Brāhman" (*tvam rājan brāhmaṇa*), etc. See the Taittirīya Saṁhitā i. 8, 16, 1, where the commentator remarks "As in common life domestic priests and others, sitting below a king seated on his throne after his return from conquering a foreign territory, address him with many benedictions and eulogies, so here too service is presented. By this benedictory service the power of cursing and showing kindness existing in the Brāhman is transferred to the king." Reference is then made to the passage before us, as noticing this custom.

justice;' or of a man who is uttering justice, 'he speaks truth.' For this is both of these. 27. This is the Brahma, Kshattria, Viś, and Sūdra. Through Agni it became Brahma among the gods, the Brāhman among men, through the (divine) Kshattriya a (human) Kshattriya, through the (divine) Vaiśya a (human) Vaiśya, through the (divine) Sūdra a (human) Sūdra. Wherefore it is in Agni among the gods and in a Brāhman among men, that they seek after an abode."

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 6, 7.—*Daivyo vai varṇo brāhmaṇaḥ | asuryyo śūdraḥ*. "The Brāhman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sūdra from the Asuras."

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 3, 9.—*Kāmam eva dāru-pātreṇa duhyāt | śūdraḥ eva na duhyāt | asato vai eśha sambhūto yat śūdraḥ | ahavir eva tad ity āhur yat śūdro dogdhi iti | agnihotraṁ eva na duhyāt śūdraḥ | tad hi na utpūnanti | yadā khalu vai pavitram atyeti atha tad havir iti* | "Let him at his will milk out with a wooden dish. But let not a Sūdra milk it out. For this Sūdra has sprung from non-existence. They say that that which a Sūdra milks out is no oblation. Let not a Sūdra milk out the Agnihotra. For they do not purify that. When that passes beyond the filter, then it is an oblation."

Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 1 — *Brāhmaṇo jajne prathamam daśaśirṣho dasūśyaḥ | sa somam prathamam papau sa chakārārasam viśham* | "The Brāhman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless."

As the description (which is, perhaps, a fragment of a longer account), stops short here, we are left in the dark as to the author's ideas about the creation of the other castes. It would have interested us to know how many heads and faces he would have assigned to the other three castes. The student of Indian poetry is aware that the giant Ravana is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa both as a Brāhman and as having ten heads.

As implying a separate origination of the Rājanya caste, the following text also may find a place here :

Taittirīya Saṁhitā, ii. 4, 13, 1.—*Devā vai rājanyāḥ jūyamānā abhayaḥ | tam antar eva santāṁ dōmnā 'paumbhan | sa vai eśho 'pobdho jūyate yad rājanyo | yad vai eśho 'napobdho jūyeta vrittrān ghaṁś charet | yañ kāmāyeta rājanyam "anapobdho jūyeta vrittrān ghaṁś chared" iti tasmai etam āndrā-bārhaspatyañ chaturṁ nūnapet | āndro vai rūṇyo*

brahma Brihaspatiḥ | brahmaṇā eva enaṁ dūmno 'pombhanād muñchati | hiraṇmayāṁ dāma dakṣiṇā sūkṣhād eva enaṁ dūmno 'pombhanād muñchati | "The gods were afraid of the Rājanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rājanya is born bound. If he were born unbound he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rājanya any one desires that he should be born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Aindra-Bārhaspatya oblation. A Rājanya has the character of Indra, and a Brahman is Brihaspati. It is through the Brahman that anyone releases the Rājanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift, manifestly releases from the bond that fetters him."

In the following text of the Atharva-veda, xv. 8, 1, a new account is given of the origin of the Rājanyas :

So 'rajyata tato rājanyo 'jāyata |

"He (the Vṛātya) became filled with passion : thence sprang the Rājanya."

And in the following paragraph (A. V. xv. 9, 1 ff) we have the same origin ascribed to the Brāhman also :

Tad yasya evaṁ vidvān vrātyo rūjño 'tithur grihān āgachhet śreyāṁsam enam ātmano mānayet | tathā kṣhatrāya nāvriśchate tathā rūshṭrāya nāvriśchate | ato vai brahma cha kṣhattraṁ cha udatiśṭhatām | te abrūtām "kam pravīśūva" iti |

"Let the king to whose house the Vṛātya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (Brāhman) and the Kshattrā (Kshattriya). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter,' etc."

SECT. IV.—*Further Quotations from the Taittiriya Prāhmaṇa, Sanhitā, and Āraṇyaka, and from the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa.*

The following passages belong to the third of the classes above adverted to, as in the descriptions they give of the creation, while they refer to the formation of men, they are silent on the subject of any separate origination of castes : "

Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 8, 1.—*Prajāpatiḥ akūmayata "prajāyeya"*
eti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa haritah śyāvo 'bhavat |
tasmāt stri antarvatnī harinī satī śyāvā bhavati | sa vijāyamāno garbheṇa
atāmyat | sa tāntaḥ kṛishṇa-śyāvo 'bhavat | tasmāt tāntaḥ kṛishṇaḥ
śyāvo bhavati | tasya asur eva ajīvat | 2. Tena asunā asurān asṛijata | tad
asurānam asuratvaṁ | ya evam asurāṇām asuratvaṁ veda asumān eva
bhavati | na enam asur jahāti | so 'surān sṛishṭvā pitū va amanyata |
tad anu pitṛin asṛijata | tat pitṛiṇām pitritvam | ya evam pitṛiṇām
pitritvam veda pitū va eva svānām bhavati (3) yanty asya pitaro havam |
sa pitṛin sṛishṭvā 'manasyat | tad anu manushyān asṛijata | tad manu-
shyāṇām manushyatvam | yah evam manushyāṇām manushyatvaṁ veda
manasvī eva bhavati na enam manur jahāti | tasmāi manushyān sasṛi-
jānaya divā devatrū abhavat | tad anu devān asṛijata | tad devānām
devatvam | ya evam devānām devatvaṁ veda divā ha eva asya devatrū
bhavati | tāni vai etāni chatvāri ambhāmśi devāḥ manushyūḥ pitaro
*'surāḥ | *teshu sarveshu ambho nabhaḥ va bhavati |*

"Prajāpati desired, 'may I propagate.' He practised austerities. He became pregnant. He became yellow-brown.³⁴ Hence a woman when pregnant, being yellow, becomes brown. Being pregnant with a foetus, he became exhausted. Being exhausted, he became blackish-brown. Hence an exhausted person becomes blackish-brown. His breath became alive. 2. With that breath (*asu*) he created Asuras. Therein consists the Asura-nature of Asuras. He who thus knows this Asura-nature of Asuras becomes a man possessing breath. Breath does not forsake him. Having created the Asuras, he regarded himself as a father. After that he created the Fathers (Pitṛis). That constitutes the fatherhood of the Fathers. He who thus knows the fatherhood of the Fathers, becomes as a father of his own: (3) the Fathers resort to his oblation. Having created the Fathers, he reflected. After that he created men. That constitutes the manhood of men. He who knows the manhood of men, becomes intelligent. Mind³⁵ does not forsake him. To him, when he was creating men, day appeared in the heavens. After that he created the gods. This constitutes the godhead of the gods. To him who thus knows the godhead of the gods, day appears in

³⁴ *Nīla-śveta-miśra-varṇah*, "of a mixed blue and white colour," says the Commentator.

³⁵ *Manuḥ* = *manana-śaktiḥ*, "the power of thinking." Comm.

the heavens. These are the four streams,³⁰ viz., gods, men, Fathers, and Asuras. In all of these water is like the air."

Satapatha Brahmana, vii. 5, 2, 6.—*Prajāpatiḥ vai idam agre āsīd ekaḥ eva | so 'kāmayata "annam sṛjeya prajāyeya" iti | sa prāṇebhyaḥ eva adhi paśūn nīramimīta manasaḥ puruṣam chakṛuḥśo 'śvam prāṇād gūm śrotrādarim vācho 'jam | tad yad enān prāṇebhyo 'dhi nīramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "prāṇāḥ paśavaḥ" iti | mano vai prāṇānām prathamam | tad yad manasaḥ puruṣam nīramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "puruṣaḥ prathamāḥ paśūnām iriyyavattamaḥ" iti | mano vai sarve prāṇāḥ | manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratishṭhātūḥ | tad yad manasaḥ puruṣam nīramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "puruṣaḥ sarve paśavaḥ" iti | puruṣasya hy ete sarve bhavanti |*

"Prajapati was formerly this (universe), one only. He desired, 'let me create food, and be propagated.' He formed animals from his breaths, a MAN from his soul, a horse from his eye, a bull from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice. Since he formed animals from his breaths, therefore men say, 'the breaths are animals.' The soul is the first of the breaths. Since he formed a man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is the first of the animals, and the strongest.' The soul is all the breaths; for all the breaths depend upon the soul. Since he formed man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is all the animals;' for all these are man's."

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1 (= Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, p. 125).—*Ātmā eva idam agre āsīt puruṣa-vidhah | so 'nirikshya na anyad ātmano 'paśyat | "so 'ham aśmi" ity agre vyāharat | tato 'ham-nāmā abhavat | tasmād apy etarhy āmantrito "'ham ayam" ity eva agre ukṛtā atha anyad nāma prabrūte yad asya bhavati | 2. Sa yat pūrvo 'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmanaḥ aushat tasmāt puruṣaḥ | oshati ha vai sa tam yo 'smāt pūrvam bubhūshati yaḥ evaṁ veda | 3. So 'bibhet | tasmād ekākī bibheti |*

³⁰ The Commentary not very satisfactorily explains this as meaning, "All these four abodes of the gods, etc., are like waters—i.e., suited to yield enjoyment, as ponds, rivers, etc., are fit for bathing, drinking," etc. The phrase is repeated in the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 5 (vol. i, p. 79, of Dr. Hall's edition), and in his note Professor Wilson says *ambhāmas* "is also a peculiar and probably a mystic term." It is explained in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as will be seen further on. The last words of the quotation from the Brāhmaṇa are obscure. In another passage of the same work (iii. 8, 18, 1, 2) the terms *ambhas*, *nabhas*, and *mahas*, are declared to denote respectively "earth," "air," and "sky" (*... ayam vai loko 'mbhāmasi . . . antarikṣam vai* . . . *vai loko maḥāmasi*).

sa ha ayam ikshāṇehakro yad "mad anyad nāsti kasmād nu bibhemi" iti | tatah eva asya bhayaṁ viyāya | kasmād hy abheshyat | dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati | 4. Sa vai nava reme | tasmād ekāhi na ramate | sa dvitīyam aichhat | sa ha etāvān āsa yathā strī-pumāṁsau samparishraktau | 5. Sa imam eva ātmānam dvedhā 'pātayat | tatah patih patnī cha abhavatām | tasmād "idam ardhavṛgalaṁ va evaḥ" iti ha sma āha Yājñavalkyah | tasmād ākūṣaḥ strīyā pūryate eva | tām samabhavat | tato manushyūḥ ajāyanta | 6. Sā u ha vyam ikshāṇehakre "kathāṁ nu mā ātmanah eva janayitvā sambhavati hanta tiro 'sūni" iti | 7. Sā gaur abhavat vṛishabhāḥ itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tato gūraḥ ajāyanta | 8. Vāḍavā itarā abhavad āśvavrishāḥ itarāḥ gardabhī itarā gardabhāḥ itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tatah ekasapham ajāyata | 9. Ajā itarā abhavat vastāḥ itarāḥ air itarā meshah itarāḥ | tum sam eva abhavat tato 'jāvayo 'jāyanta | evam eva yad idāṁ liṅcha mithunam ā pippilikā-bhyas tat sarvam asrijata |³⁷

"This universe was formerly soul only, in the form of Purusha. Looking closely, he saw nothing but himself (or soul). He first said, 'This is I.' Then he became one having the name of I. Hence even now a man, when called, first says, 'this is I,' and then declares the other name which he has. 2. Inasmuch as he, before (*pūrvaḥ*) all this, burnt up (*aushat*) all sins, he (is called) *purusha*. The man who knows this burns up the person who wishes to be before him. 3. He was afraid. Hence a man when alone is afraid. This (being) considered that 'there is no other thing but myself: of what am I afraid?' Then his fear departed. For why should he have feared? It is of a second person that people are afraid. 4. He did not enjoy happiness. Hence a person when alone does not enjoy happiness. He desired a second. He was so much as a man and a woman when locked in embrace. 5. He caused this same self to fall asunder into two parts. Thence arose a husband and a wife.³⁸ Hence Yājñavalkya has said that 'this one's self is like the half³⁹ of a split pea.' Hence the void is filled up by

³⁷ This passage has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke, *Essays* i. 64, as well as by Dr. Roer, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

³⁸ Manu and S'atarūpa, according to the Commentator.

³⁹ Compare Taitt. Br. in 3, 3, 6 *Athā arddho vai esha ātmano yat patnī* | "Now a wife is the half of one's self," and ibid. in 3, 3, 1 *Ayayno vai esha yo 'patnikuh | na prajāḥ prajāyeran* | "The man who has no wife is unfit to sacrifice. No children will be born to him." We must not, however, suppose from these passages that the

woman.⁴⁰ He cohabited with her. From them MEN were born. 6. She reflected, 'how does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear.' 7. She became a cow, and the other a bull; and he cohabited with her. From them kine were produced. 8. The one became a mare, the other a stallion, the one a she-ass, the other a male-ass. He cohabited with her. From them the class of animals with undivided hoofs was produced. The one became a she-goat, the other a he-goat, the one a ewe, the other a ram. He cohabited with her. From them goats and sheep were produced. In this manner pairs of all creatures whatsoever, down to ants, were created."

The next passage describes men as descendants of Vivasvat, or the Sun, without specifying any distinction of classes:

Taittiriya Saṁhitā vi. 5, 6, 1 f.—*Aditya putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchchheshanām adaduh | tat prāśnāt sū reto 'dhatta | tasyai chatvārah Adityūḥ ajāyanta | sū dvitīyam apachat | sū 'manyata "uchchheshanād me imś 'jāta | yad agre prāśishyāmi ito me vasyāṁso janishyante" iti | sū 'gre prāśnāt sū reto 'dhatta tasyai vyridham āṇḍam ajāyata | sū Adityebhyah eva tritīyam apachat "bhogāya me idam śrāntam astv" iti | te 'bruvan "varāṁ rṣiṇāmahā yo 'to jāyetaśmākāṁ sa eho 'sat | yo 'sya prajāyām riddhātāśmākām bhogāya bhavād" iti | tato Vivasvān Adityo 'jāyata | tasya vai ūyam prajā yad manushyāḥ | tāv ekaḥ eva riddho yo yjate sa devānām bhogāya bhavati |*

"Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation for the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. This she ate. She conceived seed. Four Adityas were born to her. She cooked a second (oblation). She reflected, 'from the remains of the oblation these sons have been born to me. If I shall eat (the oblation) first, more brilliant

estimation in which women were held by the authors of the Brāhmaṇas was very high, as there are other texts in which they are spoken of disparagingly, such as the following Taitt. Saṁh. vi. 5, 8, 2—*Sa soma nātishṭhata strībhyo grīhyamāṇāḥ | tam ghrītaṁ vajraṁ krīvā 'ghnan tam nirindryam bhūtam agrīḥnan | tasmāt striyo nirindryā adāyūdīr apī pāpāt pūṁsa upastīlaram vadanti |*" Soma did not abide, when being poured out to women. Making that butter a thunderbolt they smote it. They poured it out when it had become women, powerless. Hence women, powerless, and portionless, speak more humbly than even a poor man." (Compare the quotation in the Commentary on the Taitt. Saṁhitā, Vol. i. p. 996.) Taitt. Saṁh. vi. 5, 10, 3. *Tasmāt striyaḥ jātām parāsyanti ut pumāṁsam haranti |* "Hence they reject a female (child) when born, and take up a male" (Compare Nirukta, iii. 4.)

⁴⁰ Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 10, 4. *Prajāyā hi manushyah pūrṇah*, "For by offspring a man is completed."

(sons) will be born to me. She ate it first; she conceived seed; an imperfect egg was produced from her. She cooked a third (oblation) for the Ādityas, (repeating the formula) 'may this religious toil have been undergone for my enjoyment.' The Ādityas said, 'Let us choose a boon: let any one who is produced from this be ours only; let anyone of his progeny who is prosperous be for us a source of enjoyment.' In consequence the Āditya Vivasvat was born. This is his progeny, namely MEN.⁴¹ Among them he alone who sacrifices is prosperous, and becomes a cause of enjoyment to the gods."⁴²

The passages next following do not specify separately the creation of men (who must, however, be understood as included along with other beings under the designation *prajāh*, "offspring," or "creatures,") and therefore afford less distinct evidence that their authors did not hold the fourfold origin of mankind.

The first of these extracts is especially interesting, both on account of its own tenor, and because (along with Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 1 ff. quoted in p. 23) it contains the germ of one of the Puranic accounts of the creation which will be adduced in a subsequent section.

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff.—*Idam vai agre naua kinchana āsit | na dyaur āsīd na prithivī na antarīkṣham | tad aśad eva śad mano 'kuruta "syām" ite | tad atapyata | tasmāt tapanād dhūmo 'jāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata tasmāt tapanād Agnir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | 2. Tasmāt tapanāj jyotir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād archir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād marīchayo 'jāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād udārāḥ ajāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tad abhram iva*

⁴¹ Compare Taitt. Br. i 8, 1. *Ādityāḥ vai prajāḥ*, "Creatures are descended from Aditi."

⁴² This story is told also, but with more detail of names and somewhat differently, in Taitt. Br. i 1, 9, 10 ff. *Aditiḥ putrakāmī sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachāt | tasyai uchchheshanam ādaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta | tasyai Dhātū cha Aryamā cha ajāyetām | sū dvitīyam apachāt tasyai uchchheshanam ādaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta | tasyai Mitrai cha Varunai cha ajāyetām | sū tṛtīyam apachāt | tasyai uchchheshanam ādaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta | tasyai Āmśa cha Bhagā cha ajāyetām | sū chaturtham apachāt | tasyai uchchheshanam ādaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta tasyai Indras cha Vivasvāns cha ajāyetām | "Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation to the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. She ate it. She conceived seed. Dhātṛi and Aryaman were born to her." She does the same thing a second time, when she bears Mitra and Varuṇa,—a third time, when she bears Āmśa and Bhaga,—and a fourth time, when she bears Indra and Vivasvat.*

*samahanyata | tad vastim abhinat | 3. Sa samudro 'bhavat | tasmāt samu-
drasya na pibanti | prajananam iva hi manyante | tasmāt paśor jāyamānū
āpah purastād yanti | tad daśahotā anvasṛijyata | Prajāpatir vai daśa-
hotā | yaḥ evaṁ tapaso viryāyā vidvāṁs tapyate bhavaty eva | tad vai
idam āpah sahilaṁ āsit | so 'rodīt Prajāpatiḥ (4) "sa kasmai agnī yady
asyāpratishṭhāyūh" iti | yad apsev avūpadyata sū prithivy abhavat |
yad vyamṛiṣṭa tail antarikṣham abhavat | yad ūrdhvam udamṛiṣṭa sū
dyaur abhavat | yad arodīt tad anayoḥ rodastvam | 5. Yaḥ evaṁ veda na asya
grīhe rudanti | etad vai eśhām lokānām janma | ya evaṁ eśhām lokānām
janma veda na eshu lokesho ūrttim ūrchhati | sa imām pratishṭhām avin-
data | sa imām pratishṭhām viltvā akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo
'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa jaghanād asurān asṛijata | 6. Tebhyo
mrinmaye pātre 'nnam aduhat | yā asya sū tanūr āsit tām apāhata | sū
tamisrā 'bhavat | so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so
'ntarvān abhavat | sa prajananād eva prajāḥ asṛijata | tasmād imāḥ
bhūyishṭhāḥ | prajananād hy enāḥ asṛijata | 7. Tebhyo dārumaye pātre
payo 'duhat | yā asya sū tanūr āsit tām apāhata | sa jyotsnā 'bhavat |
so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa
upapakṣhābhyām eia ritūn asṛijata | tebhyo rajate pātre ghrītam aduhat |
yā asya sū tanūr āsit (8) tām apāhata | so 'ho-rātrayoḥ sandhīr abhavat |
so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat |
sa mukhād devān asṛijata | tebhyo harite pātre somam aduhat | yā asya sū
tanūr āsit tām apāhata | tad ahar abhavat | 9. Ele vai Prajāpater dohūḥ |
ya evaṁ veda duhe eia prajāḥ | "dīrā vai no 'bhūd" iti tad devūnām
devatraṁ | ya evaṁ devānām devatraṁ veda devavān eva bhavaty | etad vai
aho-rātrūnām janma | ya evaṁ aho-rātrūnām janma veda na aho-rātreṣu
ūrttim ūrchhati | 10. Asato 'dhi mano 'sṛijata | manaḥ Prajāpatim asṛi-
jata | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tad vai idam manasy eva paramam
pratishṭhitaṁ yadidaṁ kiñcha | tad etat śvoroṣyasaṁ nāma Brahma |
vyuchhanti vyuchhanti asmai vasyasī vasyasī vyuchhati prajāyate prajāyū
paśubhiḥ pra parameshṭhino mātṛām āpnoti ya evaṁ veda |*

"At first this (universe) was not anything. There was neither sky, nor earth, nor air. Being non-existent, it resolved 'let me be.' It became fervent.⁴³ From that fervour smoke was produced. It again

⁴³ The word thus rendered is *atapyata*, which has the sense of "being heated" as well as "practising austere abstraction." I have purposely given an equivocal rendering which may bear either sense.

became fervent. From that fervour fire was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour light was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour flame was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour rays were produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour blazes⁴⁴ were produced. It again became fervent. It became condensed like a cloud. It clove its bladder. That became the sea. Hence men do not drink of the sea. For they regard it as like the place of generation. Hence water issues forth before an animal when it is being born. After that the Dasahotri (a particular formula) was created. Prajāpati is the Dasahotri. That man succeeds, who thus knowing the power of austere abstraction (or fervour), practises it. This was then water, fluid. Prajāpati wept, (exclaiming), (4) 'For what purpose have I been born, if (I have been born) from this which forms no support?'⁴⁵ That which fell⁴⁶ into the waters became the earth. That which he wiped away, became the air. That which he wiped away, upwards, became the sky. From the circumstance that he wept (*arodit*), these two regions have the name of *rodasī*, (worlds). 5. They do not weep in the house of the man who knows this. This was the birth of these worlds. He who thus knows the birth of these worlds, incurs no suffering in these worlds. He obtained this (earth as a) basis. Having obtained (this earth as a) basis, he desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created Asuras from his abdomen. 6. To them he milked out food in an earthen dish. He cast off that body of his. It became darkness.⁴⁷ He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised

⁴⁴ Such is the sense the commentator gives to the word *udūrūh*, which he makes = *ulvāṇa-jvālīh*. Professor Roth (s. v.) explains the word as meaning "fogs"

⁴⁵ This is the mode of rendering suggested to me by Professor Aufrecht. After "if" the Commentator supplies the words—"from this non-existing earth I can create no living creature"

⁴⁶ "Prajāpati's tears," etc., according to the commentator.

⁴⁷ Compare S. P. Br. xi 1, 6, 8 *Atho yo 'yam avāṇ prāṇas tena asurān asṛjyate | te imāṃ eva pruthivīm abhīpadya asṛjyanta | tasmai sasṛjūnāya tamah va āsa |* 9. *So 'vet "pūpmānāṃ vai asṛikṣhī yasmai me sasṛjūnāya tamah va abhūd" iti | tāṃs tatah eva pūpmanū 'vidhyat | tatah eva te parābhavān ityādi |* "Then he created the Asuras from this lower breath of his. It was only after reaching this earth that they were created. On him, as he continued to create, darkness fell. 9. He understood, 'I have created misery, since darkness has fallen upon me as I was creating.' Then he pierced them with misery, and they in consequence succumbed," etc. The word rendered in the text by "cast off" is applied in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 4, 1, to serpents

austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created living beings (*prajāḥ*) from his organ of generation. Hence they are the most numerous because he created them from his generative organ. 8. To them he milked out milk in a wooden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became moon-light. He desired, 'May I be propagated. He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the seasons from his armpits. To them he milked out butter in a silver dish. He cast off that body of his. It became the period which connects day and night. He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his mouth.⁴⁸ To them he milked out Soma in a golden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became day. 9. These are Prajāpati's milkings. He who thus knows milks out offspring. 'Day (*divā*) has come to us:' this (exclamation expresses) the godhead of the gods. He who thus knows the godhead of the gods, obtains the gods. This is the birth of days and nights. He who thus knows the birth of days and nights, incurs no suffering in the days and nights. 10. Mind (or soul, *manas*,) was created from the non-existent. Mind created Prajāpati. Prajāpati created offspring. All this, whatever exists, rests absolutely on mind. This is that Brahma called *Svovasyasa*.⁴⁹ For the man who thus knows, (Ushas), dawning, dawning, dawns more and more bright; he becomes prolific in offspring, and (rich) in cattle; he obtains the rank of Parameshthin."

S. P. Br. vi. 1, 2, 11.—*Attho āhuḥ* | "*Prajāpatir eva imān lokān śriṣṭvā prithivyām pratyatiṣṭhat | tasmai imāḥ ośadhayo 'nnam apachyanta | tad āśnāt | sa garbhī abhavat | sa ūrdhvebhyaḥ eva prāṇebhyo devān asṛyata | ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyaḥ martyāḥ prajāḥ*" *iti | yata-mathā 'sṛyata tathā 'sṛyata | Prajāpatir eva idaṁ sarvaṁ asṛyata yad idaṁ kñcha* |

"Wherefore they say, 'Prajāpati, having created these worlds, was shedding their old skins (*sarpāḥ vai jīryanto 'manyanta . . . tato vai te jīrṇās tanūr apāghnata*).

⁴⁸ Compare S. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 7, quoted in the 4th Vol. of this work, p. 22 f.

⁴⁹ The Commentator explains this word to mean "that which each succeeding day becomes transcendently excellent (*uttarottara-dine vasiyo 'tisayena śreṣṭham*). Here, he says, the highest and absolute Brahma is not meant, but mind, which has the form of Brahma, and, by means of the series of its volitions, is every successive moment more and more world-creating" (*sankalpa-paramparayā pratikṣhaṇam uttarottarādihika-jagat-sraśṭritvād ityig-Brahma-rūpatvād manah pralastam* |

supported upon the earth. For him these herbs were cooked as food. That (food) he ate. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his upper vital airs, and mortal offspring from his lower vital airs. In whatever way he created, so he created. But Prajāpati created all this, whatever exists.”

S. P. Br. x. 1, 3, 1.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ūrdhvebhyaḥ eva prūnebhyo devān asṛijata | ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ | atha ūrdhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asṛijata |*

“Prajāpati created living beings From his upper vital airs he created the gods; from his lower vital airs mortal creatures. Afterwards he created death a devourer of creatures.”

Taitt. Ar. i. 23, 1.—*Āpo vai idam āsan sahāyam eva | sa Prajāpatir ekaḥ pushkara-parṇe samabhavat | tasya antar manasi kāmāḥ samavart-tata “idam sṛjeyam” iti | tasmād yad puruṣo manasā 'bhigachhati tad vāchā vadati tat karmaṇā karoti | tad eṣhā 'bhyanūktā “kāmas tad agre samavartitātādhi | manaso retāḥ pīathamam yad āsīt | 2. Sato bandhum asati niravandan hṛdi pratishyā kavayo manishā” iti | upa evam tad upanam-atī yat-kāmo bhavati yaḥ evam veda | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa tapas taptvā śarīram adhūnuta | tasya yad māmsam āsīt tato 'ruṇāḥ Ketavo Vātara-śanāḥ pishayaḥ udatishṭhan | 3. Ye nakhās te Vairikhanasāḥ | ye bālās te Bālakhilyāḥ | yo rasah so 'pām antarataḥ karmam bhūtam sarpaṇtam tam abravīt “mama vai tvan-māmsā samabhūt” | 4. “na” ity abravīt “pūrvam eva aham iha āsam” iti | tat puruṣasya puruṣatvam iti | sa “sahasra-śīrṣhā puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasra-pād” bhūtvā udatishṭhat | tam abravīt “tām ve (sic. me or vai?) pūrvam samabhūt tvam idam pūrvam kurushva” iti | sa itah ādāya apo (5) 'ñjalina purastād upādadhāt “evā hy eva” iti | tataḥ Ādityaḥ udatishṭhat | sū prācī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur dakṣhiṇataḥ upādadhāt “evā hy Agne” iti | tato vai Agnur udatishṭhat | sū dakṣhiṇā dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketuḥ pāścād upā-dadhāt “evā hi Vāyo” iti | 6. Tato Vāyur udatishṭhat | sū pratichī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur uttaraṭaḥ upādadhāt “evā hi Indra” iti | tato vai Indrāḥ udatishṭhat | sū udichī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur madhye upā-dadhāt “evā hi Pūṣhann” iti | tato vai Pūṣhā udatishṭhat | sū iyam dik | 7. Atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur upariṣṭād upādadhāt “evā hi devāḥ” iti | tato deva-manushyāḥ pītarō gandharvāṣarasāś cha udatishṭhan | sū ūrdhva dik | yaḥ vipruṣo vi parāpatan tābhyo 'surāḥ rakṣamāsi pīśachāś cha udatishṭhan | tasmāt te parābhavaṇ viprudbhyo 'hi samabhavan | tas*

eshā bhyanūktā (8) "āpo ha yad bṛihatīr garbham āyan dalśham dadhānāḥ janayanītiḥ svayambhūm | tataḥ ime 'dhyasṛjyanta sargāḥ | adbhyo vai idam samabhūt | tasmād idam sarvaṁ Brahma svayambhū" iti | tasmād idam sarvaṁ kīṭhilaṁ va adhrūvaṁ va abhavarat | Prajāpatiḥ vāra tat | ātmanā ātmānam vidhāya tad eva anuprāviśat | tad eśā 'bhyanūktā (9) "vidhāya lokān vidhāya bhūtāni vidhāya sarvāḥ pradīśo dīśascha | Prajāpatiḥ prathamajāḥ ṛitasya ātmanā 'tmānam abhisaṁviveśa" iti |

"This was water, fluid. Prajāpati alone was produced on a lotus-leaf. Within, in his mind, desire arose, 'Let me create this.' Hence whatever a man aims at in his mind, he declares by speech, and performs by act.⁵⁰ Hence this verse has been uttered, 'Desire formerly arose in it, which was the primal germ of mind, (2) (and which) sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in the heart as the bond between the existent and the non-existent' (R. V. x. 129, 4). That of which he is desirous comes to the man who thus knows. He practised austere fervour. Having practised austere fervour, he shook his body. From its flesh the rishis (called) Aruṇas, Ketus, and Vātaraśanas⁵¹ arose. 3. His nails became the Vāikhāṇasas, his hairs the Bālakbilyas. The fluid (of his body became) a tortoise moving amid the waters.⁵² He said to him, 'Thou hast sprung from my skin and flesh'⁵³ 4. 'No,' replied the tortoise, 'I was here before.' In that (in his having been 'before' *pūrvam*) consists the manhood of a man (*puruṣa*). Becoming 'a man (*puruṣa*) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet'

J⁵⁰ Compare Taitt. S. vi. 3, 10, 4, (quoted by Roth. s. v. *abhiḡam*) *yad vai hṛidayena adbhigacchati taj jihvayā vadati* |

⁵¹ They are mentioned again in Taitt. Ār. i. 24, 4. See Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon s.v. Ketu (where the Aruṇas Ketus are stated to be a sort of superior beings or demons); Atharva-veda, xi. 10, 2; Weber's Indische Studien, ii. 177, and the verse of the M. Bh. xii. 774 *Aruṇāḥ Ketavāḥ chaitra svādhūyena divaṁ gatūḥ* | "By sacred study the Aruṇas and Ketus have ascended to heaven."

⁵² The Sanskrit scholar will observe that the text here is rather obscure. It is either corrupt, elliptical, or grammatically irregular.

⁵³ Here the Sanskrit, if it be not corrupt, must be irregular and incorrect. On the style of the Āraṇyakas, see Mr. E. B. Cowell's Preface to the Kaushitaki Upanishad, p. viii., where it is remarked. "The Āraṇyakas appear to belong to a class of Sanskrit writings, whose history has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Their style, if we may judge from that of the Taittirīy and Kaushitaki, is full of strange solecisms which sometimes half remind us of the gūthās of the Lalita Vistars. The present Upanishad has many peculiar forms, some of which are common to both recensions, while others appear only in one. Such are . *muhincha*, in p. 10; *prast* for *prayanti*, in p. 51; *samvayān*, in p. 56; *eti* for *vyeti*, in p. 78; *adūḍham*, in p. 89; eta

(R. V. x. 90, 1), he arose. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou wert produced before me: do thou first make this.' He took water from this (5) in the cavity of his two hands, and placed it on the east, repeating the text, 'so be it, o Sun.'⁵⁴ From thence the sun arose. That was the eastern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the south, saying, 'so be it,' o Agni.' Thence Agni arose. That was the southern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the west, saying 'so be it, o Vāyu.' 6. Thence arose Vāyu. That was the western quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the north, saying 'so be it, o Indra.' Thence arose Indra. That is the northern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) in the centre, saying 'so be it, o Pūshan.' Thence arose Pūshan. That is this quarter. 7. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) above, saying 'so be it, o gods.' Thence arose gods, MEN, fathers, Gandharvas and Apsarasas. That is the upper quarter. From the drops which fell apart arose the Asuras, Rakshases, and Piśācbas. Therefore they perished, because they were produced from drops. Hence this text has been uttered; (8) 'when the great waters became pregnant, containing wisdom, and generating Svayambhū, from them were created these creations. All this was produced from the waters. Therefore all this is Brahma Svayambhu.' Hence all this was as it were loose, as it were unsteady. Prajāpati was that. Having made himself through himself, he entered into that. Wherefore this verse has been uttered; (9) 'Having formed the world, having formed existing things and all intermediate quarters and quarters, Prajāpati, the firstborn of the ceremonial, entered into himself with himself.'"

From an examination of the legends contained in the Brāhmsṇas, of which some specimens have just been given, it appears (1) that they are generally, if not always, adduced, or invented, with the view of showing the origin, or illustrating the efficacy, of some particular ceremony which the writer wished to explain or recommend; (2) that the accounts which they supply of Prajāpati's creative operations are

⁵⁴ The formula is in the original *evā hy eva*. The Commentator says that the first word means "objects of desire to be obtained," and that the second *eva* signifies "the moving (Sun)," the sense of the entire formula being, "Thou, o Sun, art thyself all objects of desire." The six formulas here introduced had previously occurred at the close of a preceding section, i. 20, 1.

various and even inconsistent; and (3) that they are the sources of many of the details which are found in a modified form in the cosmogonies of the Purāṇas.

When we discover in the most ancient Indian writings such different and even discrepant accounts of the origin of man, all put forth with equal positiveness, it is impossible to imagine that any uniform explanation of the diversity of castes could have been received at the period when they were composed, or to regard any of the texts which have been cited as more orthodox and authoritative than the rest. Even, therefore, if we should suppose that the author of the Puruṣa Sūkta meant to represent the four castes as having literally sprung from separate parts of Puruṣa's body, it is evident that the same idea was not always or even generally adopted by those who followed him, as a revealed truth in which they were bound to acquiesce. In fact, nothing is clearer than that in all these cosmogonies, the writers, while generally assuming certain prevalent ideas as the basis of their descriptions, gave the freest scope to their individual fancy in the invention of details. In such circumstances, perfect coincidence cannot be expected in the narratives.

We shall hereafter see that the Puranic writers reproduce some of these discrepancies in the traditions which descended to them from earlier generations, and add many new inconsistencies of their own, which they themselves, or their commentators, endeavour to explain away by the assumption that the accounts so differing relate to the occurrences of different Kalpas or Manvantaras (great mundane periods). But of a belief in any such Kalpas or Manvantaras no trace is to be found in the hymns or Brāhmaṇas: and, as we shall hereafter see, they must be held to be the inventions of a later age. The real explanation of these differences in the Brāhmaṇas is that the writers did not consider themselves (as their successors held them) to be infallibly inspired, and consequently were not at all studious to avoid in their narratives the appearance of inconsistency with the accounts of their predecessors.

SECT. V.—*Manu's Account of the Origin of Castes.*

I shall first quote a few verses from the beginning of Manu's account of the creation :

i. 8. *So 'bhidhyāya śarīrāt svāt sisrikshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasaryādau tūsu vījam avāśrijat |* 9. *Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimāṁ sahas-rāmśu-sama-prabham | tasmīn jāyate svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitū-mahaḥ |* 10. *Āpo nārā itī proktāḥ āpo vai narasūnavaḥ | tāḥ yad asyūyanam pūtram tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitah |* 11. *Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṁ nityaṁ sad-asadātmanakam | tad-viśiṣṭaḥ sa puruṣo lok-Brahmeti kīrttyate |* 12. *Tasmīn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivāte saram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā |*⁵⁵

"8 He (the self-existent) having felt desire,⁵⁶ and willing to create various living beings from his own body, first created the waters, and threw into them a seed. 9. That seed became a golden egg, of lustre equal to the sun; in it he himself was born as Brahmā, the parent of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārāḥ*, for they are sprung from *Nara*; and as they were his first sphere of motion (*ayana*=path), he is therefore called *Nārāyaṇa* ⁵⁷ 11. Produced from the imperceptible, eternal, existent and non-existent, cause, that male (*puruṣa*) is celebrated in the world as Brahmā. 12. After dwelling for a year in the egg, the glorious being, himself, by his own contemplation, split it in twain."

After a description of various other preparatory creative acts (vv. 13-30) the author proceeds in vv. 31 ff. to inform us how the four castes were produced :

i. 31. *Lohānāṁ tu viruddhyartham mukhabāhūru-pādataḥ | brāhmaṇāṁ śhattriyaṁ vaiśyaṁ śūdraṁ cha niravarttayat |* 32. *Dvidhā kṛt-vātmano deham ardhena puruṣo 'bhavat | ardhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam aśrijat prabhūḥ |* 33. *Tapas taptrū 'śrijat yaṁ tu sa svayam puruṣo*

⁵⁵ The ideas in this passage are derived (with modifications expressive of the theories current in the author's own age) from the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (see vol iv. of this work, p. 21 f.), or from some other similar account in another *Brāhmaṇa*.

⁵⁶ See *S'. P. Br* i. 7, 4, 1 *Prayāpatir ha vai svām dukhitarām abhidadhyan.*

⁵⁷ In the *M. Bh.* iii 12952, *Kṛishṇa* says. *apām nārāḥ itī purū sanjñā-karma kṛtam mayā | tena Nārāyaṇo py ukto mama tat tv ayanam sadā |* "The name of *nārāḥ* was formerly assigned by me to the waters: hence I am also called *Nārāyaṇa*, for there has always been my sphere of motion."

Virāj | tān mām vittāsyā sarvasya sraṣṭūrām devīja-sattamāḥ | 34. Aham prajāḥ sṛṣṭikṣhus tu tapas taptvā suduścaram | patin prajānām aṣṛijam maharṣin adito daśa | 35. Marichim Atryangirasau Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum | Prachetasam Vasishṭhaṁ cha Bhṛiguṁ Nāradam eva cha | 36. Ete Manūṁ tu saptānyān aṣṛijan bhūrītejasah | devūn devanīkūyānś cha maharṣinś chāmitaujasah | 37. Yaksha-rakṣah-piśā-chānś cha gandharvūpsaraso 'surān | nāgān sarpān suparnūmś cha pi-trīṇām cha pṛithaggaṇān | 38. Vidyuto 'śani-meghānś cha rohitendra-dhanūmś cha | ullū nirghāta-ketūmś cha jyotiṁśhy uchchāvachāni cha | 39. Kinnarān vānarān matsyūn riviḍhānś cha vihangamān | paśūn mṛigān manushyānś cha vyālānś chobhayatodataḥ | 40. Kṛimīkṛīṭa-patangānś cha yūkā-makṣhikā-matkuṇam | sarvān cha daṁśa-māśakam sthāvarān cha pṛithagvidham | 41. Evam etair idān sarvam man-niyogād mahātma-bhiḥ | yathākārma tapo-yogāt sṛṣṭān sthārara-jāgamam |

31. "That the worlds might be peopled, he caused the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, the Vaiśya, and the Sūdra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet."⁶⁰ 32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brahmā) became, with the half a male (puruṣha), and with the half, a female; and in her he created Virāj.⁶¹ 33. Know, O most excellent twice-born men, that I, whom that male, (puruṣha)⁶² Virāj, himself created, am the creator of all this world. 34. Desiring to produce living creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis (great rishis), lords of living beings, (35) viz., Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasishṭha, Bhṛigu, and Nārada.⁶³ 36. They, endowed with

⁶⁰ On this Kullūka the Commentator remarks *Davyā cha śaktyā mukhādābhyo brāhmaṇādī-nirmāṇam Brahmano na visankaniyām īrutī-siddhatvāt* | "It is not to be doubted that, by his divine power, Brahmā formed the Brāhman and the other castes from his mouth and other members, since it is proved by the Veda. Ho then quotes the 12th verse of the Puruṣa Sūkta.

⁶¹ See the Puruṣa Sūkta, verso 5.

⁶² It will be observed that Manu applies this term *puruṣha* to three beings, first to Brahmā (v. 11), second to the male formed by Brahmā from the half of his own body (v. 32), and third to Virāj, the offspring of the male and female halves of Brahmā's body (v. 33). It will be noticed that this story of Brahmā dividing his body is borrowed from the passage of the S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1, quoted above.

⁶³ In the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 2 ff., a different account is given of the origin of the world, in which no reference is made to Manu Svāyambhuva. The order of the creation there described is as follows First everything was water. Then Brahmā Svāyambhū, with the deities, came into existence—Brahmā being said to have sprung

great energy, created⁶² other seven Manus, gods, and abodes of gods, and Maharshis of boundless might; (37) Yakshas, Rakshases, Pisāchas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras, Nāgas, Serpents, great Birds, and the different classes of Pitṛis; (38) lightnings, thunderbolts, clouds, Indra's bows unbent and bent, meteors, portentous atmospheric sounds, comets, and various luminaries; (39) Kinnaras, apes, fishes, different sorts of birds, cattle, deer, MEN, beasts with two rows of teeth; (40) small and large reptiles, moths, lice, flies, fleas, all gadflies and gnats, and motionless things of different sorts. 41. Thus by my appointment, and by the force of devotion, was ALL THIS WORLD BOTH MOTIONLESS AND MOVING, created by those great beings, according to the (previous) actions of each creature."

The different portions of the preceding narrative of the creation of the human species are not easily reconcilable with each other. For it is first stated in verse 31, that men of the four castes proceeded separately from different parts of Brahmā's body,—prior (as it would appear) (1) to the division of that body into two parts and to the successive production (2) of Virāj, (3) Manu, and (4) the Maharshis, who formed all existing creatures. And yet we are told in verse 39, that MEN were among the beings called into existence by those Maharshis, and in verse 41, that the entire MOVING as well as motionless WORLD was their work. It is not said that the men created by the Maharshis were distinct from those composing the four castes, and we must, therefore, assume that the latter also are included under the general appellation of men. But if men of the four castes had been already produced before the formation of all living creatures by the Maharshis, what necessity existed for the men of these castes being a second time called into being as a part of that later creation? It is possible that this

from the æther (*ākāśa*). Brahmā, with his sons, created the world. From Brahmā sprang Marichi, from Marichi, Kasyapa, from Kasyapa, Vivsvat, and from Vivsvat, Manu Vaivasvata. *The original of this passage is quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 29 ff.

⁶² These great rishis seem to be the beings denoted by the word *viśvasṛjāḥ*, "creators of the universe," in the verse of Manu (xii. 50), which will be quoted below. Reference to rishis, or to seven rishis, as "formers of existing things" (*bhūta-kṛtāḥ*), is also found in the Atharvaveda, vi. 108, 4, vi. 133, 4, 5, xi. 1, 1, 3, 24; xii. 1, 39; and the word *bhūta-kṛtāḥ*, without the addition of rishis, is found in the same work iii. 28, 1, iv. 35, 2, and xix. 16, 2.

allegation of the separate creation of castes may have been engrafted as an after-thought on the other account.⁶³

After other details, regarding the propagation, nature, etc, of created things (vv. 42-50), the re-absorption of Brahmā into the Supreme Spirit, and his alternations of sleep and repose, etc. (vv. 50-57), Manu proceeds :

58. *Idam śāstraṁ tu kṛtvā 'sau mām eva svayam āditah | vidhivad grāhayāmāsa Marīchyūdimś to aham munin |* 59 *Etad vo 'yam Bhriguḥ śāstraṁ śrūvayishyaty aśeshatah | etad hi matto 'dhiyaje sarvam esho 'lhalam munih |* 60. *Tatas tathā sa tenokto maharshir Manunā Bhriguḥ | tām abravēd rishin sariān prītātmā "śrūyatām" iti |* 61. *Svāyambhuvasyūṣya Manuḥ śhad-vaṁśyū Munaro 'pare | śrīṣṭāntaḥ prajāḥ svāḥ svāḥ mahātmāno mahaujasaḥ |* 62. *Svārochishaḥ chaṭṭamiś cha Tāmaso Raivataḥ tathā | Chākshushaḥ cha mahāteja Vivasvat-suta eva cha |* 63. *Svāyambhuvādyaḥ saptaite Manaro bhūritejasaḥ | sro śre 'ntare sarvam idam utpādyāpuś charūcharam |*

59. "Having formed this Scripture, he (Brahmā) himself in the beginning caused me to comprehend it according to rule; as I did to Marichi and the other munis. 60. This Bhrigu will give you to hear this scripture in its entirety; for this muni learned the whole from me. 61. Then that Maharshi (great rishi), Bhrigu being so addressed by Manu, with pleasure addressed all those rishis, saying, 'Let it be heard.' 62. 'From this Manu Svāyambhuva sprang other Manus in six successive generations, great and glorious, who respectively created living beings of their own,—(63) viz., Svārochisha, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chākshusha, and the mighty son of Vivasvat. 61. These seven⁶⁴ Manus of great power, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have each in his own period (*antara*) produced and possessed the world.' "

⁶³ In the same way it may be observed that in v. 22 Brahmā is said to have formed the subtle class of living gods whose essence is to act, and of the Sādhyas (*karmā-manāṁ cha devīnām so 'eryat prāṇinām prabhuḥ | sādhyānāṁ cha gaṇaiḥ sūkshmaḥ*), and in v. 25, to have "called into existence this creation, desiring to form these living beings" (*śrīṣṭiṁ āsarya chaivemūṁ sṛṣṭum icchann imāḥ prajāḥ*). But if the gods and all other creatures already existed, any such further account of their production by the Maharshis, as is given in verse 36, seems to be not only superfluous but contradictory.

⁶⁴ It will be observed that here Svāyambhuva is included in the seven Manus, although in verse 36 (see above) it is said that the ten Maharshis, who had themselves been created by Svāyambhuva (vv. 34 L), produced seven other Manus.

After some preliminary explanations regarding the divisions of time as reckoned by men and gods, etc. (vv. 64-78), the author proceeds to tell us how long each of those Manus reigns :

79. *Yat prak dvādasa-sahasram uditam daivikam yugam | tad ekasaptati-gunam manvantaram ihojyate |* 80. *Manvantarāṇy asankhyāni sargaḥ saṁhāra eva cha | kṛdānāṁ ivaitat kurute Parameshṭhi punaḥ punaḥ |*

"The age (*yuga*) of the gods mentioned before, consisting of twelve thousand (years), when multiplied by seventy-one, is here called a manvantara. 80. There are innumerable manvantaras, creations and destructions. The Supreme Being performs this again and again, as if in sport."

A more detailed account of these great mundane periods will be given in the next section, when I come to take up the Vishṇu Purana. Meanwhile it may be remarked that the present manvantara is that of the last of the Manus above enumerated, or Manu Vaisvata, who, according to verse 63, must have created the existing world. But if such be the case, it does not appear why the creation of Manu Svāyambhuva, with which the present race of mortals can have little to do, should have been by preference related to the rishis in vv. 33 ff. It must, however, be observed that in v. 33 Manu Svāyambhuva described himself as the former of "this" (*i e*, the existing) universe, and there is no doubt that the whole code of laws prescribed in the sequel of the work is intended by the author to be observed by the existing race of Indians (see verses 102 ff. of the first book). We must, therefore, suppose that the creations of the later Manus are substantially identical with that of the first; or that there is some confusion or inconsistency in the accounts which I have cited. Perhaps both suppositions may be correct.

In vv. 81-86, the four Yugas (or great ages of the world) the Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, their gradual deterioration, and the special duties peculiar to each, are described.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ In v. 86 these predominant duties are said to be austere fervour in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā, sacrifice in the Dvāpara, and liberality alone in the Kali (*tapah parāṁ Kṛita-yuge tretāyām jñānam ushyate | dvāpare gayam evāhur dānam ekam kalau yuge*). This, as remarked in Weber's *Indische Studien*, 282 f., note, is not quite in conformity with the view of the Mundaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1, which states

At verse 87, Bhṛigu recurs to the four castes:

87. *Sarvasyāsya tu sargasya gupty-artham sa mahādyutiḥ | mukha-
bāhūru-paj-jānām prithak karmāny akalpayat |*

"For the preservation of this whole creation, that glorious being (Brahmā) ordained separate functions for those who sprang from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet."

These functions are then detailed (vv. 88-92). In verse 93, the grounds of the Brāhman's pre-eminence are stated:

93. *Uttamāṅgobhavāj jyaishthyāḍ brahmanas chaiva dhāraṇāt | sar-
vasyavūsyā sargasya dharmato brāhmanas prabhuh |* 94. *Tam hi sva-
yambhūḥ svād āsyāt tapas taptvā 'dīto 'srijat |*

Since the Brahman sprang from the most excellent organ, since he is the first-born and possesses the Veda, he is by nature the lord of this whole creation. Him, the self-existent (Brahmā) after exercising fervid abstraction, formed at the first from his own mouth."

But as there are grades of excellence among created things, and among men themselves (96), so are there also among Brahman's:

97. *Brāhmaṇeshu cha vidvāṃso vidvatsu kṛita-buddhayaḥ | kṛita-
buddhiḥsu karttārāḥ karttṛiḥsu brahma-vedināḥ |*

"Among Brāhman's the learned are the most excellent, among the learned the resolute, among the resolute those who act, and among them who act they who possess divine knowledge."

In a subsequent part of the work (xii. 40 ff.) we find men in general, the castes, and indeed all existing things, from Brahmā downwards, classified according to their participation in different degrees in the three *guṇas*, or qualities (*sattva*, "goodness," *rajas*, "passion," and *tamas*, "darkness").

39. *Yena yūns tu guṇenaishāṃ saṃsārān pratipadyate | tām samāsena
valahyāmi sarvasyāsya yathākramam |* 40. *Devatvaṃ sātṛikā yānti
manuṣhyatvaṃ cha rajasāḥ | tiryaktvaṃ tūmasā nityam ity eṣā tri-*

*tat etat satyam mantreshu karmāṇi kavayo yāny apaśyaṃs tāni tretāyām bahudhā
santatāni |* "This is true the rites which sages beheld in the hymns, are in great variety celebrated in the Tretā." In the same way the M. Bh. iii. v 11,248, says that sacrifices and rites prevail in the Tretā (*tato yagnāḥ pravarttante dharmās cha
svadhāḥ kṛiyāḥ | tretāyām ityādi*). See also M. Bh. xii. 13,090. The word *kṛita*, as the name of the first yuga is thus explained in a previous verse of the former of these two passages (11,235) *kṛitam eva na karttavyaṃ tamān kile yugottama |* "In the time of that most excellent Yuga (everything) has been done, (and does) not (remain) to be -"

vidhā gatih | . . . 43. *Hastinās cha turangās cha śūdrā mlechhās cha garhitāḥ* | *smāha vyāghrā varāhās cha madhyamā tāmasī gatih* | . . . 46. *Rājānaḥ kshattriyās chaiva rājnās chawa purohitāḥ* | *vāda-yuddha-pradhānās cha madhyamā rājāsī gatih* | . . . 48. *Tāpasā yatayo viprā ye cha vaimānikā gaṇāḥ* | *nakshatrāṇi cha dātyās cha prathamā sāttvikī gatih* | 49. *Yāpāna rishayo devā vedā jyotiṃshi vatsarūḥ* | *pitaras chawa sādhyās cha dvitīyā sāttvikī gatih* | 50. *Brahmā viśvasrījo dharma mahān aṇyaktam eva cha* | *uttamām sāttvikīm etām gatim āhur maṇishīnaḥ* |

“39. I shall now declare succinctly in order the states which the soul reaches by means of each of these qualities. 40. Souls endowed with the *sattva* quality attain to godhead; those having the *rajas* quality become men; whilst those characterized by *tamas* always become beasts—such is the threefold destination . . . 43. Elephants, horses, Śūdras and contemptible Mlechhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark condition . . . 46. Kings, Kshattriyas, a king’s priests (*purohitāḥ*), and men whose chief occupation is the war of words, compose the middle condition of passion . . . 48. Devotees, ascetics, Brāhmans, the deities borne on aerial cars, constellations, and Dātyas, constitute the lowest condition of goodness. 49. Sacrificing priests, rishis, gods, the vedas, the celestial luminaries, years, the fathers, the Sādhyas, form the second condition of goodness. 50. Brahmā, the creators,” righteousness, the Great One (*mahat*), the Unapparent One (*avyakta*), compose the highest condition of goodness.”

⁶⁶ These “creators” (*viśvasrījah*) are thus mentioned in Taitt. Br in. 12, 9, 2. *Ādarsam Agnīm chānūnāḥ pūrve viśvasrījo ’mrītaḥ* | *śatām varsha-sahasrāṇi dikshitāḥ satram ūsata* | 3 *tapah āsīt grihapatṛ Brahma brahmū ’bhavat ōyam* | *satyaṃ ha hotaishām āsīt yad viśvasrījo ūsata* | *amṛitam ebhya udagūṇyat sahasram parvat-sarāṇ* | *bhūtāṃ ha prastotaiḥām āsīt bhaviṣyat prati chūharat* | *prāṇo adhvaryur abhavat idam survaṃ sikhūsatām* | . . . 7. *Viśvasrījah prathamāḥ satram ūsata* | . . . 9. | *tato ha jānye bhuvanasya gopāḥ hiraṇmayah śakunir Brahma nāma* | *yena sūryas tapatī tejaseddhah* | . . . 8 *Etana vai viśvasrījah idam visvam asṛjanta* | *yad viśvam asṛjanta tasmād viśvasrījah* | *viśvam enān anu prajāyate* | “2. The ancient and immortal creators of the universe, keeping fire kindled till they saw the new moon, and consecrated, were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years 3. Austere fervour was the householder; Prayer itself (*brahma*) was the brahmā priest; Truth was their hotṛ, when the creators were so occupied. Immortality was their udgātṛi for a thousand years. The Past was their prastotṛi, the Future their pratihartṛi; Breath was the adhvaryu, whilst they were seeking to obtain all this.” After a good deal more of this allegory, the author proceeds in para. 7. “These first

It will be observed that the different parts of this account of the mode in which the three qualities are distributed, are not quite in harmony. From v. 40 it would appear that all souls having the quality of passion become men; and yet we find from vv. 43, 48, and 49, that Śūdras belong to the *tāmasa* class, and Brāhmins, of different descriptions, to two of the *Sāttvika* grades. According to the rule enunciated in v. 40, the latter ought to have been born as gods.

It is, further, remarkable that in this enumeration Śūdras are found in the same category with Mlechhas (v. 43), that the Vaiśyas are not accommodated with a position in any of the classes, that Kshattriyas and kings' domestic priests, who are of course Brāhmins, and others (who must be Brāhmins) fond of disputation on learned questions⁶⁷ (though not stated to be heretical) are ranked together as "passionate" (v. 46), while other Brāhmins of different characters are placed in two of the higher grades, Brāhmins simply so called (*viprāḥ*) being regarded as "good" in the lowest degree (v. 48), and sacrificing priests (*yajvāṇāḥ*) sharing with rishis, gods, the vedas, etc., the honour of the middle condition of goodness. It is not clear whether the devotees, and ascetics, mentioned in v. 48, belong to the same caste as the Brāhmins with whom they are associated, or may also be men of the inferior classes. Nor is it evident for what reason the sacrificing priests (*yajvāṇāḥ*), specified in v. 49, are so much more highly estimated than the king's priests (*rājnah purohitāḥ*) in v. 46, since the latter also officiate at sacrifices. The honourable position assigned to Daityas in the lowest class of "good" beings (v. 48) is also deserving of notice. We shall see in the following chapter that the Purāṇas variously describe mankind as belonging entirely to the "passionate" class (see v. 40, above) and as characterized by the three other "qualities," according to their caste.

creators were engaged in sacrifice . . . Thence was born the preserver of the⁴ world, the golden bird called Brahma, by whom the sun glows, kindled with light. . . . 8. . . . Through this the creators created this universe as they created the universe, they are called *visvaṣṛjāḥ*. . . Everything is created after them." See above the reference made to *rishayo bhūta-kṛtāḥ* in p. 36. The allegory in this extract from the Taitt. Br resembles in its character that in the sixth verse of the Puruṣa Sūkta.

⁶⁷ *Śāntārthakalaha- prajñā cha* | Comm.

SECT. VI.—*Account of the System of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, according to the Vishnu Purāṇa, and other authorities.*

I shall in the next section adduce the description given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa of the creation of living creatures, and the origin of the four castes, after first supplying in the present some explanation of the great mundane periods, the *Yugas*, *Manvantaras*, *Kalpas*, etc.

The computations of these great periods are stated in the third chapter of the first book, and in the first chapter of the sixth book, and are clearly explained by Professor Wilson in his notes to page 50 of his translation.

One year of mortals is equal to one day of the gods.⁶⁸

12,000 divine years are equal to a period of four Yugas, which is thus made up, viz. :

Kṛta Yuga with its mornings and evenings.....	4,800	divine years	
Tretā Yuga " " " "	3,600	"	"
Dvāpara Yuga " " " "	2,400	"	"
Kali Yuga " " " "	1,200	"	"

making... 12,000 divino years.⁶⁹

As a day of the gods is = to one year of mortals, the 12,000 divine years must be multiplied by 360, the assumed number of days in a year, to give the number of the years of mortals in this great period of four yugas, thus: 12,000 divine years \times 360 = 4,320,000 years of mortals. 1000 of these periods of 12,000 divine, or 4,320,000 human, years—i.e., 4,320,000,000 human years are = 1 day of Brahmā,⁷⁰ and his night is of the same duration. Within that period of a day of Brahmā, 14 Manus reign,⁷¹ and a Manvantara, or period of Manu,

⁶⁸ Vishnu P. vi 1, 4 *ahorātrām pitṛnām tu māso 'bhas tridivaukasām* | See also Manu i 66 and 67 The Taitt Br. iii. 9, 22, 1, too, states *ekām vai etad devānām ahar yā sāmvatsarah* | "This period of a year is one day of the gods."

09 i. 3, 10. *Dvayaṃ varṣa-sahasraṃ kṛta-treḍāḥ-sanyatam | chaturyugam
dvādasāśu tad-vibhāgaṃ nibodha me |* 11. *chatur trīṇi dve chaikam kṛtūḥśu
yathākramam | dreyābhānām sahasraṇi yugeśu hāv purāṇāḥ |* 12 *Tat-pramāṇaḥ
śataḥ sandhyā pūrvā tatrabhīdhiyate | sandhyōṃśakaś cha tat tulyo yugāśyānantarō
āś sah |* 13. *Sandhyā-sandhyōṃśayor antar yah kālō muni-sattama | yugāḥkhyah sa tu
vyneyaḥ kṛta-treḍāḥ-sanyatam |*

⁷⁰ V. P. 1. 3, 14 *Kṛtām tretā dvāparāś cha kalīś chaiva chaturyugam | prochyate tat-sahasrām cha Brahmanā divasam nuṇe |* See also Manu 1. 72.

⁷¹ V. P. i. 3, 15. *Brahmano divase brahman, Manavaś cha chaturdśa | bhavanti |*

is consequently = the 14th part of a day of Brahmā. In the present Kalpa (= a day of Brahmā) six Manus, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have already passed away, the present Manu being Vaivasvata.⁷² In each Manvantara seven rishis, certain deities, an Indra, a Manu, and the kings, his sons, are created and perish.⁷³ A thousand of the systems of 4 Yugas, as has been before explained, occur coincidentally with these 14 Manvantaras; and consequently about 71 systems of 4 Yugas elapse during each Manvantara, and measure the lives of the Manu and the deities of the period.⁷⁴ At the close of this day of Brahmā a collapse (*pratisancharaḥ*) of the universe takes place, which lasts through a night of Brahmā, equal in duration to his day, during which period the three worlds are converted into one great ocean, when the lotus-born god,⁷⁵ expanded by his deglutition of the universe, and contemplated by the yogis and gods in Janaloka, sleeps on the serpent Sesha. At the end of that night he awakes and creates anew.⁷⁶

A year of Brahmā is composed of the proper number of such days and nights; and 100 such years constitute his whole life. The period of his life is called *Para*, and the half of it *Parārdha*, or the half of a *Para*. One *Parārdha*, or half of Brahmā's existence, has now expired, terminating with the great Kalpa, called the *Pādma Kalpa*. The now existing Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, called *Vārāha* (or that of the boar), is the first of the second *Parārdha* of Brahmā's existence.⁷⁷ The

⁷² This is stated by Manu i. 62 ff (see above), as well as in the third book of the V. P. i. 3, which gives the names in the same order *Svāyambhuvo Manuḥ pūro Manuḥ Svārochishas tathā | Autamas Tamasai chava Ravatai Chākushas tathā | shad ete Manava 'tītāh sūpratai tu Raveḥ sutah | Vavastato 'yañ yasayatat sapta-māṃ varitate 'nīaram |*

⁷³ V. P. i. 3, 16 *Saptarshayah surāḥ Sakro Manus tat-sūnavo nrīpāḥ | ekakāle hi sruyante samkhyante cha pūrvavat |*

⁷⁴ Ibid ver. 17. *Chaturyugānām sankhyātū sūdhikū hy eka saptaṭiḥ | manvantaram Manoh kūlah surādīnām cha rattama |* See also Manu i. 79.

⁷⁵ The birth of Prajāpati on a lotus-leaf is mentioned in the Taitt. Ārany. i. 23, 1, quoted above, p. 32.

⁷⁶ Ibid 20 *Chaturdasa-guṇo hy esha kālō brūhmam ahaḥ smṛitam | brāhma naimut-jiko nūma tasyānte pratisancharah |* . . . 22. *Ekānave tu trailokye Brahmā Nūrā-gaṇātmakah | bhogī-dayyāntah ete trailokya-grāsa-erūhītah |* 23. *Janasthau yogi-bhīr devaḥ chintyamūno 'bhu-sambhavaḥ | tat-pramūṇām hi tām vātrīm tadante sryate punah |* See also V. P. i. 2, 50-62, as translated by Wilson, vol. i. p. 41.

⁷⁷ Ibid ver. 24. *Evam tu Brahmaṇo varaham ecam varsha-jatam cha tat | satam hi tasya varshānām param āyur mahātmanah |* 25. *Ekam aya vyatītam tu parārdham Brahmaṇo 'nagha | tasyānte 'bhūd mahūkāpaḥ Pādmaḥ ucy abhivīrūtah | devītyasya*

dissolution, which occurs at the end of each Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, is called *naimittika*, incidental, occasional, or contingent. (See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. i. of Dr. Hall's edition, p. 52, with the editor's note; and vol. ii. p. 269. For an account of the other dissolutions of the universe I refer to the same work, vol. i. p. 113, and to pp. 630-633 of the original 4to. edition.)

Of this elaborate system of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, of enormous duration, no traces are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Their authors were, indeed, familiar with the word *Yuga*,⁷⁸ which frequently occurs in the sense of age, generation, or tribe. Thus in i. 139, 8, iii. 26, 3; vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5; x. 94, 12, the phrase *yuge yuge*⁷⁹ means "in every age." In iii. 33, 8; x. 10, 10, we have *uttarā yugāni*, "future ages," and in x. 72, 1, *uttare yuge*, "in a later age;" in vii. 70, 4, *pūrvāni yugāni*, "former ages,"⁸⁰ and in i. 184, 3, *yuga jūrā*, "past ages." In i. 92, 11, i. 103, 4; i. 115, 2; i. 124, 2; i. 144, 4,⁸¹ ii. 2, 2; v. 52, 4; vi. 16, 23; vii. 9, 4; viii. 46, 12; viii. 51, 9; ix. 12, 7,⁸² x. 27, 19; x. 140, 6⁸³ (in all of which places, except i. 115, 2, the word is combined with *manushyā*, *mānushā*, *manushah*, or *janānām*), *yuga* seems to denote "generations" of men, or *parārdhahya varttamānasya vai dvija | Vārūhah iti kalpo 'yam prathamah parikalpitah |*

⁷⁸ In Professor Willson's Dictionary three senses are assigned to *yuga* (neuter) (1) a pair, (2) an age as the Krita, Tretā, etc., (3) a lustre, or period of five years. When used as masculine the word means, according to the same authority, (1) a yoke; (2) a measure of four cubits, etc.; (3) a particular drug.

⁷⁹ Sāyana, on iii. 36, 3, explains it by *pratyānam*, "every day," on vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8, vi. 36, 5, by *kāle kāle*, "at every time."

⁸⁰ Sāyana takes the phrase for former "couples of husbands and wives," *mithunāni jāyūpatirūpāni*.

⁸¹ In i. 92, 11 and i. 124, 2, Ushas (the Dawn) is spoken of as, *pramāṇatī manushyū yugāni*, "wearing away human terms of existence, or generations." In commenting on the former text Sāyana explains *yugāni* as equivalent to *kṛita-tretādīni*, "the Krita, Tretā, and other ages," whilst in explaining the second, he takes the same word as signifying *yugopalakṣhitān nimeshādī-kāṭvayaṇān*, "the seconds and other component parts of time indicated by the word," or as equivalent to *yugmāni*, "the conjunctions of men,"—since the dawn scatters abroad to their several occupations men who had been previously congregated together." In his note on i. 144, 4, he gives an option of two different senses: *manoh sambhandhīni yugāni jāyūpatirūpāni hotradhavyurūpāni vā |* "couples consisting of husband and wife, or of the hotṛi and adhivaryu priests."

⁸² This verse, ix. 12, 7, is also found in Sāma V. ii. 552, where, however, *yugā* is substituted for *yugā*.

⁸³ This verse occurs also in Sāma V. ii. 117², and Vāj. S. xii. 111.

rather, in some places, "tribes" of men. In v. 73, 3, the phrase *nāhuṣhā yugā* must have a similar meaning. In i. 158, 6, it is said that the rishi Dirghatamas became worn out in the tenth *yuga*; on which Professor Wilson remarks (R. V. vol. ii. 104, note): "The scholiast understands *yuga* in its ordinary interpretation; but the *yuga* of five years is perhaps intended, a lustrum, which would be nothing marvellous." Professor Aufrecht proposes to render, "in the tenth stage of life." The first passage of the Rig-veda, in which there is any indication of a considerable mundane period being denoted, is x. 72, 2 f., where "a first," or, "an earlier age (*yuga*) of the gods" is mentioned (*devānām pūrvye yuge; devānām prathamē yuge*) when "the existent sprang from the non-existent" (*asataḥ sad ajāyata*); but no allusion is made to its length. In the same indefinite way reference is made in x. 97, 1, to certain "plants which were produced before the gods,—three ages (*yugas*) earlier" (*yāḥ oṣadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devibhyas tri-yugam purā*). In one verso of the Atharva-veda, however, the word *yuga* is so employed as to lead to the supposition that a period of very long duration is intended. It is there said, viii 2, 21: *śataim te ayutaīm hāyanām die yuge trīṇi chatvāri kṛṇmah* | "we allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four ages (*yugas*)."⁸⁴ As we may with probability assume that the periods here mentioned proceed in the ascending scale of duration, two *yugas*, and perhaps even one *yuga*, must be supposed to exceed 10,000 years.

The earliest comparison between divine and human periods of duration of which I am aware is found in the text of the Taitt. Br. quoted above in a note to p. 42: "A year is one day of the gods."⁸⁵ But so far as that passage itself shows, there is no reason to imagine that the statement it contains was anything more than an isolated idea, or that the conception had, at the time when the Brāhmanas were compiled, been developed, and a system of immenso mundane periods, whether

⁸⁴ For the context of this line see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, page 42.

⁸⁵ An analogous idea is found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv. 7, 1, 33 ff. (= Brihadāranyaka Upanishad pp 817 ff of Cal. ed.) *atha ye śatam manushyāṇām ānandāḥ sa ekah pitṛinām jātalanām ānandah* | "now a hundred pleasures of men are one pleasure of the Pitṛis who have conquered the worlds" And so on in the same way; a hundred pleasures of the Pitṛis equalling one pleasure of the Karmadevas (or gods who have become so by works), a hundred pleasures of the latter equalling one pleasure of the gods who were born such, etc.

human or divine, had been elaborated. That, however, the authors of the Brāhmanas were becoming familiar with the idea of extravagantly large numbers is clear from the passage in the Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2, quoted above, p. 41, in the note on Manu xii. 50, where it is said that the creators were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years.

Professor Roth is of opinion (see his remarks under the word *Kṛita* in his Lexicon) that according to the earlier conception stated in Manu i. 69, and the Mahābhārata (12,826 ff.), the four Yugas—*Kṛita*, *Trotā*, *Dvāpara*, and *Kali*, with their mornings and evenings, consisted respectively of no more than 4,800; 3,600; 2,400; and 1,200 ordinary years of mortals; and that it was the commentators on Manu, and the compilers of the Purāṇas, who first converted the years of which they were made up into divine years. The verse of Manu to which Professor Roth refers (i. 69), and the one which follows, are certainly quite silent about the years composing the *Kṛita* age being divine years: •

*Chaturvā āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṃ tu kṛitaṃ yugam | tasya tāvach
chhati sandhyā sandhyāṃśchaścha tathāvidhaḥ |* 70. *Itareṣhu sasandhyeṣhu
sasandhāṃśeṣhu cha trishu | elāpāyena varttante sahasrāṇi śatāni cha |*
“They say that four thousand years compose the *kṛita* yuga, with as many hundred years for its morning and the same for its evening. 70. In the other three yugas, with their mornings and evenings, the thousands and hundreds are diminished successively by one.”

Verse 71 is as follows: *Yad etat parisanṅhyātām ādāv eva chatur-
yugam | etad dvādaśa-sahasraṃ devūnāṃ yugam uchyate |* which, as explained by Medhātithi, may be thus rendered: “Twelve thousand of these periods of four yugas, as above reckoned, are called a Yuga of the gods.” Medhātithi’s words, as quoted by Kullūka, are these: *Chaturyugair eva dvādaśa-sahasra-sanṅhyair diryam yugam |* “A divine Yuga is formed by four yugas to the number of twelve thousand.” Kullūka, however, says that his predecessor’s explanation is mistaken, and must not be adopted (*Medhātithir bhramo nādarttavyaḥ*). His own opinion is that the system of yugas mentioned in vv. 69 and 71 are identical, both being made up of divine years. According to this view, we must translate v. 71 as follows: “The period of four yugas, consisting of twelve thousand years, which has been reckoned above, is called a Yuga of the gods.” This certainly appears to be the

preferable translation, and it is confirmed by the tenor of verse 79. Verse 71, however, may represent a later stage of opinion, as it is not found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, where the previous verso (69) is repeated, and verse 70 is expanded into three verses, though without any alteration of the sense :

M. Bh. iii. 12826 ff. — *Ādīto manuṣya-vyāghra kṛtsnasya jagataḥ kṣhaye | chatvāry āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varahānūn tat kṛtaṁ yugam | tasya tāvachchhati sandhyā sandhyāṁścha tathāvidhaḥ |*

"In the beginning, after the destruction of the entire universe, they say that there are four thousand years : that is the Kṛita Yuga, which has a morning of as many hundred years, and an evening of the same duration." And then, after enumerating in like manner the other three Yugas with their respective thousands and hundreds successively diminished by one, the speaker (the sage Mārkaṇḍeya) proceeds in verse 12831 : *Eṣā dvādaśahasrī yugāḥyā parikīrtitā | etat' sahasra-paryantam aho brāhmaṇam udāhṛtam |* "This period of twelve thousand years is known by the appellation of the Yugas. A period extending to a thousand of these is called a day of Brahmā."

Nowhere, certainly, in this passage is any mention made of the years being divine years.

The earliest known text in which the names of the four Yugas are found is a verse occurring in the story of Sunahśepa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 15 : *Kalīḥ śayāno bhavati sanjīhānas tu diāparaḥ | uttiṣṭhāṁś tretā bhavati kṛtaṁ sampadyate charan |* "A man while lying is the Kalī; moving himself, he is the Dvāpara; rising, he is the Tretā; walking, he becomes the Kṛita."⁸⁶ But this brief allusion leaves us

⁸⁶ This verse has been already translated no less than six times, twice into German by Weber and Roth (Ind. Stud. i. 286 and 460), once into Latin by Streiter (see Ind. Stud. ix. 315), and thrice into English, by Wilson (Journ. R. A. S. for 1851, p. 99), Müller (Ane. Sansk. Lit. p. 412), and Haug (Ait. Br. ii. 464). All these authors, except the last, concur in considering the verse as referring to the four Yugas. Dr. Haug, however, has the following note : "Śayāna does not give any explanation of this important passage, where the names of the Yugas are mentioned for the first time. These four names are, as is well known from other sources, . . . names of dice, used at gambling. The meaning of this Gāthā is, There is every success to be hoped; for the unluckiest die, the Kalī is lying, two others are slowly moving and half fallen, but the luckiest, the Kṛita, is in full motion. The position of dice here given is indicative of a fair chance of winning the game." Both Dr. Haug's translation and note are criticised by Professor Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 319). Of the following verses, which occur in Manu ix. 301 f., the second is a paraphrase of that in the Aitareya Brāh-

quite in the dark as to the duration which was assigned to these *yugas* in the age when the *Brāhmaṇa* was compiled.

SECT. VII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vishnu Purāṇa.*

I commence with the following general account of the cosmogony of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, extracted from Professor Wilson's Preface to his translation of that work, vol. i. p. xcvi :

"The first book of the six, into which the work is divided, is occupied chiefly with the details of creation, primary (*sarga*), and secondary (*pratisarga*); the first explains how the universe proceeds from Prakṛiti, or eternal crudo matter;⁸⁷ the second, in what manner the forms of things are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how they re-appear after their temporary destruction.⁸⁸ Both these creations are periodical; but the termination of the first occurs only at the end of the life of Brahmā, when not only all the gods and all other forms are annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, besides which only one spiritual being exists. The latter takes place at the end of every Kalpa or day of Brahmā, and affects only the forms of inferior creatures and lower worlds, leaving the substances of the universe entire, and sages and gods unharmed."⁸⁹

mana *Kṛitaṁ tretā-yugaṁ chaiva dvāparaṁ kalur eva cha | rājno vṛttānti sarvāṇi rājā hi yugam uchyaते |* 302 *Kālīḥ pravṛpto bhavati sa jāgrat dvāparam yugam | karmasv abhyudiyatas tretā vacharāms tu kṛitaṁ yugam |* "301. The Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali yugas are all modes of a king's action, for a king is called a yuga. 302 While asleep he is the Kālī, waking he is the Dvāpara age, intent upon action he is the Tretā, moving about he is the Kṛita." The former of these two verses of *Manu* is reproduced nearly verbatim in the *M. Bh.* xii 3408, and the same idea is expanded in the same book of the same poem, vv. 2674 ff., 2682, 2684, 2686, 2693 ff. The words *kṛita*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, and *kali*, are found in the *Vāj.-Sanhitā*, xix. 18, and in the *Taitt. Brāhmaṇa*, iii. 4, 1, 16; but in both places they denote dice, as does also the word *kṛita* in the *Cihāndogya Upan* iv 1, 4 (where see the commentary). On the *Yugas* the reader of German may also consult *Weber's Indische Studien*, i. pp. 89, 87 f., 282 ff.

⁸⁷ [See Book i. chapter ii.]

⁸⁸ [See the fourth and following chapters of Book i.]

⁸⁹ See Book i. at the close of chapter vii. p. 113 of vol. i of Professor Wilson's translation, 2nd edition, and also p. 621 and 630 of the original 4to. edition. As regards,

I proceed with the details of the creation which took place in the Vārāha Kalpa, as described in book i. chapter 4, vv. 2, ff.:

Atita-kalpāvasāne nisū-suptotthitāḥ prabhūḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avakṣhata | 3. Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ paresham api sa prabhūḥ | Brahma-svarūpi bhāgān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | . . . 6. Toyāntaḥ sa mahim jñātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhūḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ prajāpatiḥ | 7. Akarot sa tanūm anyūm kalpādishu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikān tadrad vārūhaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ | 8. Veda-yajnamayaṁ rūpam āśeṣa-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitaḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā prajāpatiḥ | 9. Janaloka-gataḥ siddhair Sanakādyair abhishkṛtaḥ | praveśa tadū toyam ātmādhāro dharā-dharaḥ | . . . 45. Evaṁ śaṁstūyamānastu paramātmā mahādharaḥ | ujjahāra mahim kṣhipraṁ nyastavāṁś cha mahāmbhasi | 46. Tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatatastvāt tu dehasya na mahi yātī samplavam | tataḥ kṣitiṁ samān kriṇū prithivyāṁ so 'chinod girin | yathā-ribhāgam bhagavān anādiḥ punuḥshottamaḥ | 47. Prāk-sarga-dagdākūn akhilān parvatān prithivītale | amogheṇa prabhūreṇa sasarpjūmogha-rāmechchitaḥ | 48. Dhruvī bhāgān tataḥ kṛtvā sapta-dvīpān yathālatilā | bhūr-ādyāṁś chaturō lokān pūrvaat samakalpayat | 49. Brahma-rūpadhāro deas tato 'sau rajasā 'ṛitaḥ | chakāra sṛiṣṭim bhagavāṁś chatur-raktra-dhāro Hariḥ | 50. nimittamātram evāsau sṛjyūnām sarga-karmanām | pradhāna-kāraṇibhūtā gato vai sṛjya-śaktayaḥ | 51. Nimitta-mātram multvaikam nānyat kinchid apekshyate | niyate tapatām śreṣṭha eva-śaktyā vastu vastutām |

"2. At the end of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, arising from his night slumber, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, beheld the universe void. 3. He (was) the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by other beings, the deity without beginning, the source of all things, existing in the form of Brahmā." [The verse given in Manu i. 10, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa (see above p. 35) is here quoted]. "6. Thus lord of creatures, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, (7) assumed another body. As formerly, at the beginnings of the Kalpas, he had taken the form of a fish,

however, the statement with which the paragraph concludes, compare vol. i. p. 50, as well as vol. ii. p. 269, of the same work.

a tortoise, and so forth,⁵⁰ (so now) entering the body of a hoar (8),—a form composed of the vedas and of sacrifice,—the lord of creatures, who, throughout the entire continuance of the world, remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, self-sustained, the supporter of the earth (9),—being hymned by Sanaka and the other saints, who had (at the dissolution of the lower worlds) proceeded to Janaloka,—entered the water.” [He is then addressed by the goddess Earth in a hymn of praise, as Vishnu, and as the supreme Brahmā, vv. 10-24. The boar then rises from the lower regions, tossing up the earth with his tusk, and is again lauded by Sanandana and other saints in a second hymn, in the course of which he himself is identified with sacrifice, and his various members with its different instruments and accompaniments, vv. 25-44]. “45. Being thus lauded, the supreme soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted her up quickly and placed her upon the great waters. 46. Resting upon this mass of water, like a vast ship, she does not sink, owing to her expansion. Then, having levelled the earth, the divine eternal Purushottama heaped together mountains according to their divisions. 47. He whose will cannot be frustrated, by his unfailing power, created on the surface of the earth all those mountains which had been burnt up in the former creation. 48. Having then divided the earth, just as it had been, into seven dvīpas, he formed the four worlds Bhūloka and others as before. 49. Becoming next pervaded with the quality of passion, that divine being Hari, assuming the form of Brahmā, with four faces, effected the creation. 50. But he is merely the instrumental cause of the things to be created and of the creative operations, since the properties of the things to be created arise from Pradhāna as their (material) cause. 51. Excepting an instrumental cause alone, nothing else is required. Every substance (*vastu*) is brought into the state of substance (*vastutā*) by its own inherent power.”⁵¹

⁵⁰ No mention is made in the Brāhmaṇas (as I have already observed) of any such periods as the Kalpas. But here an attempt is made to systematize the different stories scattered through those older works which variously describe the manner in which the creation was effected—with the view, perhaps, of reconciling the discrepancies in those free and artless speculations which offended the critical sense of a later age.

⁵¹ See Professor Wilson's translation of these verses, and the new version proposed by the editor of the second edition, Dr. Hall, p. 86, note. I do not think the phrase

[Before proceeding further with the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I wish to quote or refer to some passages from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa and from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which appear to furnish the original germs of the legends of the boar, fish, tortoise, and dwarf incarnations.

The first of these texts is from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, vii 1, 5, 1 ff:

Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tasmīn Prajāpatiḥ vāyur bhūtvā acharat | sa imām apaśyat | taṁ varāho bhūtvā āharat | tām Viśvakarmā bhūtvā vyamārt | sū opathata | sū prithuy abharat | tat prithuyā prithutram | tasyām āsrmyat Prajāpatiḥ | sa deīdā asṛjata Vasūn Rudrān Adityān | te deīdā Prajāpatiḥ abruvan "prajāyāmahaḥ" iti | so 'bravid "yathā aham yushmāns tapasā asṛikṣu evāṁ tapasī prajānam ichchhadhrām" iti | tebhyo 'gnim āyatanam prāyachhad "etena āyatanena śrāmyata" iti | te 'gninā āyatanenu āsrāmyan | te saṁvatsare śkām gām asṛjanta |

"This universe was formerly waters, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved.⁹² He saw this (earth). Becoming a boar, he took her up. Becoming Viśvakarman, he wiped (the moisture from) her. She extended. She became the extended one (prithivī). From this the earth derives her designation as the extended one. In her Prajāpati performed arduous devotion. He created gods, Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The gods said to Prajāpati, 'let us be propagated.' He answered, 'As I have created you through austere fervour, so do ye seek after propagation in austere fervour.' He gave them Agni as a resting-place (saying), 'With this as a resting-place perform your devotion.' They (accordingly) performed devotion with Agni as a resting-place. In a year they created one cow, etc."⁹³

asa-saktyā can be properly rendered, as Dr. Hall does, "by its potency." The reading of the MSS in v 50, *pradhāna-kāraṇabhūtaḥ* seems to me doubtful, as it would most naturally mean "have become the Pradhāna-cause." I conjecture *pradhāna-kāraṇodbhūtaḥ*, which gives the sense which seems to be required.

⁹² It is possible that the idea assigned to the word *Nārūṇa* (see Manu 1 10, above), "he whose place of movement is the waters," may be connected with this passage. See also Genesis 1 2, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

⁹³ After having noticed this passage in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, I became aware that it had been previously translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays 1 75, or p. 44 of Williams & Norgate's edition). Mr. Colebrooke prefaces his version by remarking, "The pre-

The second passage is from the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 3, 5 ff. *Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tena Prajāpatiḥ āśrāmyat "katham idam syād" iti | so 'paśyat pushkara-parṇam tishthat | so 'manyata "asti vai tad yasmin idam adhitishthat" iti | sa varāho rūpaṁ kṛtvā upa-nyamajjat | sa prithivīm adhaḥ ārechhat | tasyā upahatya idamajjat | tat pushkara-parṇe 'prathayat | yad "aprathata" tat prithivyaḥ prithivīvam | "abhūd vai idam" iti tad bhūmyaḥ bhūmitvam | tāṁ diśo 'nu vātaḥ samavahat | tāṁ śarkarābhīr adriṇhat |*

"This (universe) was formerly water, fluid.⁹⁴ With that (water) Prajāpati practised arduous devotion (saying), 'how shall this (universe be (developed)?' He beheld a lotus-leaf standing⁹⁵ He thought, 'there is somewhat on which this (lotus-leaf) rests.' He as a boar—having assumed that form—plunged beneath towards it. He found the earth down below. Breaking off (a portion of) her, he rose to the surface. He then extended it on the lotus-leaf. Inasmuch as he extended it, that is the extension of the extended one (the earth). This became (*abhūt*) From thus the earth derives its name of *bhūmī*. The wind carried her, to the four quarters. He strengthened her with gravel, etc., etc.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 2, 11, has the following reference to the same idea, although here Prajāpati himself is not the boar :

Iyatī ha vai nyam agre prithivyā ūsa prādeśa-mūlī | tāṁ Emūśhaḥ iti varāhaḥ vyaghāna | so 'syāḥ patib Prajāpatib tena eva enam etan-milhu-nena priyeṇa dhāmnū samardhayati kṛtsnam karoti |

"Formerly this earth was only so large, of the size of a span. A boar called Emūsha raised her up. Her lord Prajāpati, therefore, prospers him with (the gift of) this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete "

Another of the incarnations referred to in the preceding passage of

sent extract was recommended for selection by its allusion to a mythological notion, which apparently gave origin to the story of the *Varāha-avatāra*, and from which an astronomical period, entitled *Calpa* has perhaps been taken."

⁹⁴ The Commentator gives an alternative explanation, viz., that the word *salila* is the same as *sarira*, according to the text of the Veda, "these worlds are *sarira*" ("ime vai lokāḥ sariram" iti śruteḥ)

⁹⁵ "Supported upon the end of a long stalk" (*dīrghanūlāgre'vasthitam*), according to the Commentator. In a passage from the Taitt. Āraṇyaka, already quoted (p. 32, above), it is said that Prajāpati himself was born on a lotus-leaf.

the Vishṇu Purāṇa is foreshadowed in the following text from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 1, 5 :

Sa yat kūrmo nāma | etad vai rūpaṁ kṛitva Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asrijata | yad asrijata akarot tat | yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | kasyapo vai kūrmaḥ | tasmād āhuḥ "sarvāḥ prajāḥ kāśyapyaḥ" iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo sau sa Ādityaḥ |

"As to its being called *kūrma* (a tortoise); Prajāpati having taken this form, created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); since he made, he is (called) *kūrmaḥ*. The word *kāśyapa* means tortoise; hence men say all creatures are descendants of Kāśyapa. This tortoise is the same as Āditya."⁶⁶

The oldest version of the story of the fish incarnation, which is to be found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1 ff., will be quoted in the next chapter.

For the passages which appear to supply the germ of the dwarf incarnation, the reader may consult the fourth volume of this work, pp. 54-58 and 107 f.

It will have been noticed that in the passage above adduced from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, the word *Nārāyaṇa* is applied to Vishṇu, and that it is the last named deity who (though in the form of *Brahmā*) is said to have taken the form of a boar. In the verses formerly cited from Manu (i. 9, 10), however, *Nārāyaṇa* is an epithet, not of Vishṇu, but of *Brahmā*; and in the following text, from the Rāmāyaṇa, xi. 110, 3, it is *Brahmā* who is said to have become a boar :

Sarvaṁ salilam evāṣṭ prithivī tatra nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr datataiḥ saha⁶⁷ | sa varūhas tato bhūtvā projahūra vasundharām ityādi |

"All was water only, and in it the earth was fashioned. Then arose

⁶⁶ With this compare the mention made of a tortoise in the passage cited above, p. 32, from the Taitt. Āranyaka.

⁶⁷ Such is the reading of Schlegel's edition, and of that which was recently printed at Bombay, both of which, no doubt, present the most ancient text of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Gauda recension, however, which deviates widely from the other, and appears to have modified it in conformity with more modern taste and ideas, has here also introduced a various reading in the second of the lines quoted in the text, and identifies *Brahmā* with Vishṇu in the following manner - *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Viṣṇuḥ svayayaḥ* | "Then arose *Brahmā* the self-existent and imperishable Vishṇu."

Brahmā, the self existent, with the deities. He then, becoming a boar, raised up the earth," etc.

I now return to the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.]

The further process of cosmogony is thus described in chapter v. :

Maitreya uvācha | 1. *Yathā sasarijja devo 'sau devarshi-pitr-dānavān | manushya-tiryag-vrikshādīn bhū-vyoma-sahlaukasaḥ* | 2. *Yad-guṇaṁ yat-svabhāvaṁ cha yad-rūpaṁ cha jagad dvyā | sargūdanu śṛiṣṭavān Brahmā tad mamāchakshva vistarāt* | *Parāśara uvācha* | 3. *Maitreya kathayāmy esha śṛiṇushva susamāhitaḥ | yathā sasarijja devo 'sau devādīn akhilān vibhūḥ | śṛiṣṭīm chintayatas tasya kalpādīshu yathā purā | abuddhi-paricalaḥ sargaḥ prādurbhūtas tamomayaḥ* | 4. *Tamo moho mahāmohaś tāmiso hy andha-samjñitaḥ | avidyā pancha-parvairiṣṭā prādurbhūta mahātmanaḥ* | 5. *Panchadhā 'vasthitaḥ sargo dhyāyato 'prati-bodhaiṇ | vahir-anto-'prakāśaś cha samvṛttātma nagātmaḥ* | 6. *Mukhya nāga yataś choktā mukhya-sargas tatas te ayam* | 7. *Taṁ drishṭvā 'sādhakāṁ sargam amanyad aparaṁ punaḥ | tasyābhidhyāyataḥ sargas tiryak-srotā⁹⁸ 'bhyavarttata* | 8. *Yasmāt tiryak pravṛttaḥ sa tiryak-srotas tataḥ smṛitaḥ* | 9. *Paśvādayas te vikhyātās tamah-prayāh hy ave-dinaḥ | utpatha-grāhinaś chaiva te 'jñāne jñāna-māninaḥ* | 10. *Ahamhṛitā ahammūrā ashtāvimśad-vadhūnntāḥ | antaḥ-prakāśaś te sarve āpṛitāś cha paraspares* | 11. *Tam apy asādhakam matvā dhyāyato 'nyas tato 'bhavat | ūrdhvasrotas tritīyas tu sātīvikorddhvam avarttata⁹⁹* | 12. *Te sukha-prtibahulā bahir antaś cha nāvṛtāḥ¹⁰⁰ | prakāśū bahir antaś cha ūrdhva-sroto-bhavāḥ smṛitāḥ* | 13. *Tushty-ātmaśas tritīyas tu deva-sargas tu yaḥ smṛitāḥ | tasmān sarge 'bhavat prītir nishpanne Brahmanas tadā* | 14. *Tato 'vyāṁ sa tadā dadhyau sādhakāṁ sargam uttamam | asādhakāṁs tu tān jñātvā mukhya-sargūdi-sambhavaṁ* | 15. *Tathā 'bhīdhyāyatas tasya satyābhidhyāyinas tataḥ | prādurbhūtas tadā 'vyaktād arvāk-srotas tu sādhakāḥ* | 16. *Yasmād arvāg vyavarttanta tato 'rvāk-srotasas tu te | te cha 'prakāśa-bahulā tamodriktā¹⁰¹ rajo'dhikāḥ | tasmāt te duḥkha-bahulā bhūyo bhūyaś cha kārīṇaḥ | prakāśū bahir antaś cha manushyā sādhakāś tu te* | . . . 23. *Ity ete tu samākhyūtā nava sargāḥ Prajā-*

⁹⁸ *iti sandhir ārshaḥ* — Comm

⁹⁹ The reading of the Vāyu P, in the parallel passage, is *tasyābhidhyāyato nityāṁ sātīvikak samavarttata | ūrdhvasrotas tritīyas tu sa chawordhvaṁ vyavasthitaḥ* | The combination *sātīvikorddhvam* in the text of the Vishṇu P. must be *ārsha*.

¹⁰⁰ For *nāvṛtāḥ* the Vāyu P. reads *samvṛtāḥ*.

¹⁰¹ *Iti samīhārāshaḥ* | Comm. But there is a form *tama*. The Vāyu P. has *tamaḥ*.

*pateḥ | prākṛitā caikṛitās chaiva jagato mūla-ketavaḥ | sṛijato jagadīśa-
 nya kin anyach chhrotum icchasi | Maitreya uvācha |* 24. *Saṁkṣhepat
 kathitaḥ sargo devādinām trayā mune | vistarāch chhrotum icchāmi
 tratto munurottama |* *Parāśara uvācha |* *karmabhūr bhāvitāḥ pūrvaiḥ
 kuśalākuśalais tu tāḥ | khyātyā tayā hy anirmuktāḥ saṁhāre hy upa-
 saṁhṛitāḥ |* 25. *Sthāvarāntāḥ surādyaścha prajā brahmaṇs chaturvi-
 dhāḥ |* *Brahmaṇaḥ kūrvaṭaḥ sṛiṣṭīm jajñire mānasā tu tāḥ |* 26. *Tato
 devasurapitrin mānushāṁś cha chatushtayam | sṛiṣṭiḥ kurvaṇānām
 etāni sram ātmānam ayūjyāt |* 27. *Yuktātmanas tamomātrā udriktā
 'bhūt Prajāpateḥ | sṛiṣṭiḥ kurvaṇānām pūriam asurāḥ jajñire tataḥ |*
 28. *Utsarja tatas tām tu tamo-mātrātmikāṁ tanum | sā tu tyaktā
 tanus tena Maitreyābhūd vibhāvari |* 29. *Sṛiṣṭiḥ kurvaṇānām
 prītiḥ āpa tataḥ surāḥ | sattvodrīktāḥ sumudbhūtāḥ mukhato Brah-
 maṇo devya |* 30. *Tyaktā sā 'pi tanus tena sattva-prāyama abhūd dinam |
 tato hi balino rātrāv asurā devatā duā |* 31. *Sattvamātrātmikāṁ
 eā tato 'nyāṁ jagrihe tanum | pitruḥ manyamānasya pitaras tasya
 jajñire |* 32. *Utsarja pitrīn sṛiṣṭiḥ tatas tām āpi sa prabhuḥ | sā
 chotsṛiṣṭiḥ 'bhavat sandhyā dina-naktāntora-sthitiḥ |* 33. *Rajo-mātrātm-
 mikāṁ anyāṁ jagrihe sa tanuḥ tatuh | rajo-mātrātmikāṁ jātā manushyā
 devya-sattoma | tām āpy āśu sa tatyāja tanum ādyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |
 jyotnā samabhavat sā 'pi prak-sandhyā yā 'bhūdhṛyate |* 34. *Jyotso-
 dgame tu balino manushyāḥ pitaras tathā | Maitreya sandhyā-samaye
 tasmād ete bhavanti vai |* 35. *Jyotnā-rātry-ahanī sandhyā chātṛāry
 etāni vai vibhoḥ |* *Brahmaṇas tu śarīrāṇi triguṇāpāśayāṇi cha |*
 36. *Rajo-mātrātmikāṁ eā tato 'nyāṁ jagrihe tanum | tataḥ kṣud
 Brahmaṇo jātā jajñe kopas tayā tataḥ |* 37. *Kṣud-khāmān andhakāre
 'tha so 'sṛjād bhagavāns tataḥ |* *Virūpāḥ śmaśrulā jātās te 'bhyadhā-
 vaṁś tataḥ prabhum |* 38. "Maitreya bho rakṣhyatām eṣa" yair uktaṁ
 rakṣasā tu te | ūchuh "Lhādāma" ity anye ye te yakṣhās tu yakṣhaṇāt |

"Maitreya said: 1. Tell me in detail how at the beginning of the creation that deity Brahmā formed the gods, rishis, fathers, dānavas, men, beasts, trees, etc., dwelling respectively on the earth, in the sky, and in the water; 2. and with what qualities, with what nature, and of what form he made the world. Parāśara replied: 3. I declare to thee, Maitreya, how that deity created the gods and all other beings; listen with attention. While he was meditating on creation, as at the beginnings of the (previous) Kaṇvas, there appeared an insentient crea-

tion, composed of gloom (*tamas*). 4. Gloom, illusion, great illusion, darkness, and what is called utter darkness—such was the five-fold ignorance, which was manifested from that great Being, 5. as he was meditating—an insensible creation,¹⁰² under five conditions, devoid of feeling either without or within,¹⁰³ closed up, motionless. 6. And since motionless objects are called the primary objects, this is called the primary (*mukhya*) creation.¹⁰⁴ 7. Beholding this creation to be ineffective, he again contemplated another. As he was desiring it the brute (*tiryaksrotas*) creation came forth. 8. Since (in its natural functions) it acts horizontally it is called Tiryaksrotas. 9. The (creatures composing it) are known as cattle, etc., distinguished mainly by darkness (*tamas*) ignorant, following irregular courses,¹⁰⁵ while in a state of ignorance having a conceit of knowledge, (10) self-regarding, self-esteeming, affected by the twenty-eight kinds of defects, endowed with inward feeling, and mutually closed. 11. As Brahmā, regarding this creation also as ineffective, was again meditating, another creation, the third, or *ūrdhvasrotas*, which was good, rose upward. 12. They (the creatures belonging to this creation) abounding in happiness and satisfaction, being unclosed both without and within, and possessed both of external and internal feeling, are called the offspring of the Ūrdhvasrotas creation. 13. This third creation, known as that of the gods, was one full of enjoyment. When it was completed, Brahmā was pleased. 14. He then contemplated another creation, effective and most excellent, since he regarded as ineffective the beings sprung from the primary and other creations. 15. While he, whose will is efficacious, was so desiring, the Arvāksrotas, an effective creation, was manifested.¹⁰⁶ 16. They

¹⁰² The Vāyu P. here inserts an additional line, *sarvatas tamasū chava dīpaḥ kumbha-vaś ūvratāḥ* | “and covered on all sides with darkness, as a lamp by a jar”

¹⁰³ *Vakir-anto prakūśascha* appears to be the true reading, as the Commentator renders the last word by *prakṛiṣṭa-jñāna-sūnyaḥ*, “devoid of knowledge.” But if this be the correct reading, it is ungrammatical, as *antaḥ* and *aparakūśa* would properly make *antar-aparakūśa*, not *anto prakūśa*. But the Purāṇas have many forms which are irregular (*ūrakṣa*, “peculiar to the rishis,” “vedic,” or “antiquated” as the Commentators style them) The Taylor MS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa reads in the parallel passage *bahir-antah-prakūśascha*

¹⁰⁴ See Dr. Hall's note p. 70 on Professor Wilson's translation; and also the passage quoted above p. 16 from the Taitt. Saṁh. vii. 1, 1, 4, where the word *mukhya* is otherwise applied and explained.

¹⁰⁵ *Bhāṣya-vidi-vrocak-hīnāḥ* | “Making no distinction in food, etc., etc.” Comm.

¹⁰⁶ Compare M. Bh. xiv. 1038

(the creatures belonging to it) are called Arvāksrotas, because (in their natural functions) they acted downwardly. And they abound in sensation (*prakāśa*) and are full of darkness (*tamas*) with a preponderance of passion (*rajas*). Hence they endure much suffering, and are constantly active, with both outward and inward feeling. These beings were men, and effective."¹⁰⁷

In the next following verses, 17-22, the names of the different creations, described in the first part of this section, and in the second chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, are recapitulated, and two others, the Anugraha and the Kaumāra, are noticed, but not explained.¹⁰⁸

The speaker Parāśara then adds: "23. Thus have the nine creations of Prajāpati, both Prākṛita and Vaikṛita, the radical causes of the world, been recounted. What else dost thou desire to hear regarding the creative lord of the world? Maitreya replies: 24. By thee, most excellent Muni, the creation of the gods and other beings has been summarily narrated: I desire to hear it from thee in detail. Parāśara rejoins: Called into (renewed) existence in consequence of former actions, good or bad, and unliberated from that destination when they were absorbed at the (former) dissolution of the world, (25) the four descriptions of creatures, beginning with things immovable and ending with gods, were produced, o Brāhman, from Brahmā when he was creating, and they sprang from his mind 26. Being then desirous to create these streams (*ambhāṇas*)¹⁰⁹—the four classes of Gods, Asuras, Fathers, and Men, he concentrated himself. 27. Prajāpati, thus concentrated, received a body, which was formed of the quality of gloom (*tamas*); and as he desired to create, Asuras were first produced from his groin. 28. He then abandoned that body formed entirely of gloom; which when abandoned by him became night. 29. Desiring to create, when he had occupied another body, Brahmā experienced pleasure; and then gods, full of the quality of goodness, sprang from his mouth. 30. That body

¹⁰⁷ The Vāyu P. adds here *Lakṣhaṇas tīrakadyaiścha aṣṭādāḥ oha vyavasthūṭh | siddhātmanō manushyās te gandharva-saha-dharmīṇah | ity eva tayasah sargo hy arvāksrotāḥ prakīrtitah |* "Constituted with preservative(?) characteristics, and in an eightfold manner. These were men perfect in their essence, and in nature equal to Gandharvas. This was the lustrous creation known as Arvāksrotas."

¹⁰⁸ See Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's V. P. pp. 32 ff.; and pp. 74 ff.

¹⁰⁹ This word is borrowed from the passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmana, ii. 3, 3, 3, quoted above, p. 23. Most of the particulars in the rest of the narrative are imitated from another passage of the same Brāhmana, ii. 2, 9, 5 ff., also quoted above, p. 28.

also, being abandoned by him, became day, which is almost entirely good. Hence the Asuras are powerful by night¹¹⁰ and the gods by day. 31. He then assumed another body formed of pure goodness; and the Fathers were born from him, when he was regarding himself as a father.¹¹¹ 32. The Lord, after creating the Fathers, abandoned that body also; which, when so abandoned, became twilight, existing between day and night. 33. He next took another body entirely formed of passion; and men, in whom passion is violent, were produced. The primeval Prajāpati speedily discarded this body also, which became faint light (*jyotsnā*), which is called early twilight. 34. Hence, at the appearance of this faint light, men are strong, while the fathers are strong at evening-twilight. 35. Morning-twilight, night, day, and evening-twilight, these are the four bodies of Brahmā, and the receptacles of the three qualities. 36. Brahmā next took another body entirely formed of passion, from which sprang hunger, and through it anger was produced. 37. The Divine Being then in darkness created beings emaciated with hunger, which, hideous of aspect, and with long beards, rushed against the lord. 38. Those who said, 'Let him not be preserved' (*rukshyatām*) were called Rukshasas, whilst those others who cried, 'Let us eat (him)' were called Yakshas from 'eating' (*yakshanāt*).¹¹²

It is not necessary for my purpose that I should quote at length the conclusion of the section. It may suffice to say that verses 39 to 51 describe the creation of serpents from Brahmā's hair; of Dhūtas, of Gandharvas; of birds (*vayāṁs*) from the creator's life (*vayas*), of sheep from his breast, of goats from his mouth, of kine from his belly and sides, and of horses,¹¹³ elephants, and other animals from his feet; of plants from his hairs; of the different metres and vedas from his eastern, southern, western, and northern mouths. Verses 52 ff. contain a recapitulation of the creative operations, with some statement of the

¹¹⁰ In the Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara Kāṇḍa 82, 13 f. (Gorresio's edit) we read *Rukshasām rajanī-kūlaḥ saṁyugesu praśasyate* | 14. *Tasmād rūjan nīṣā-yuddhe jayo 'smākaṁ na saṁśayaḥ* | "Night is the approved time for the Rukshasas to fight. We should therefore undoubtedly conquer in a nocturnal conflict."

¹¹¹ This idea also is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2.

¹¹² See Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 83, and Dr. Hall's note.

¹¹³ See the passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. quoted above, p. 16, where the same origin is ascribed to horses.

principles according to which they were conducted. Of these verses I quote only the following: 55. *Teshām ye yāni karmāni prāk-sṛṣṭhyān pratipadire | tāny eva pratipadyante sṛjyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ | . . .* 60. *Yathārtāv ṛitu-lingāni nānārūpāni paryaye | drīṣyante tāni tānyeva tathā bhārā yugādīṣhu |* 61. *Karoty eamūḍhām sṛṣṭīm kalpādaḥ sa punaḥ punaḥ | sṛṣṭikṣhāsakti-yukto 'sau sṛjya-śakti-prachoditah |* "These creatures, as they are reproduced time after time, discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in the previous creation . . . 60. Just as, in each season of the year, all the various characteristics of that season are perceived, on its recurrence, to be the very same as they had been before, so too are the beings produced at the beginnings of the ages" 61. Possessing both the will and the ability to create, and impelled by the powers inherent in the things to be created, the deity produces again and again a creation of the very same description at the beginning of every Kalpa."

The sixth section of the same book of the V P, of which I shall cite the larger portion, professes to give a more detailed account of the creation of mankind.

V. P. i. 6, 1. *Maitreya uācha | Arrākṣotas tu kathito bharatā yas tu mānushaḥ | brahman isturato brūhi Brahmā tam asṛjyad yathā |* 2. *Yathā cha uṣṇān asṛjyad gad-guṇḍīmś cha mahāmune | yachcha teshām smṛitām kṛmu viprādīnām tad uchyutām | Parāśura uācha |* 3. *Satyābhidhyāyinas tasya sṛṣṭikṣhor Brahmaṇo jagat | ajāyanta devyaśreshṭha sattiodṛiktā mukhāt prajāḥ |* 4. *Vakṣhaso rajasodṛiktās tathā 'nyā Brahmaṇo 'bhāvan | rajasā tamasā chana samudṛiktās tathorutah |* 5. *Padbhyām anyāḥ prajā Brahmā savarjya diyu-sattama | tamah-prudhānās tāḥ sarvās chāturiarṇyam idam tataḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kṣhatṛiṇyā vaiśyāḥ śādrāscha diya-sattama | pādoru-vakṣuh-sthūlato mukhutaś cha samudgatāḥ |* 6. *Yajna-nishpattaye sarvam etad Brahmā chakāra vai | chāturiarṇyam mukhābhāga yajna-sādhanaṁ uttamam |* 7. *Yajnavir āpyāyitā devā vṛṣṭiy-utsurgenā vai prajāḥ | āpyāyayante dharmu-jna yajnāḥ kalyāṇa-heturāḥ |* 8. *Nishpadyante naraś tuis tu sa-karmā-bhīratuḥ sadā | vṛuddhācharaṇāpetuḥ sadbhīḥ sunmārga-gāmibhīḥ |* 9. *Stargāpariṇagau mānushyāt prāpnutanti narā mune | yach chābhiru-chitām sthānaṁ tad yānti manujā diya |* 10. *Prajās tāḥ Brahmaṇā sṛṣṭiśṭās chāturiarṇya-tyavasthitau | samyak śruddhā-samāchāra-pra-*

vanā muni-sattama | 11. *Yathechhā-vāsa-mratāḥ sarvābādha-vivarjitāḥ* |
śuddhāntuḥ-karaṇāḥ śuddhāḥ sarīānushṭhāna-nirmalāḥ | 14.¹¹⁵ *Sud-*
dhe cha tāsām manasi śuddhe 'ntaḥ-saṁsthite Harau | *śuddha-jñānam*
prapaśyanti Vīṣṇu-ākhyam yena tatpadam | 15. *Tataḥ kūtāmako yo*
'sau sa chāṁśaḥ kathito Hareḥ | *sa pātayaty agho ghoram alpam alpālpa-*
sāvarat | 16. *Adharma-vīja-bhūtaṁ tu tamo-lobha-samudbharam* | *pra-*
jāsu tūsu Maitreya rāgūdīkam asādhakam | 17. *Tataḥ sā sahaṃ siddhis*
tāsām nātīva jāyate | *rasollāsūdayaś chānyāḥ siddhayaḥ 'shṭau bhavanti*
yāḥ | 18. *Tūsu kṣhīṇāsv aśeśāsu varddhamāne cha pōtaks* | *dvandvādi-*
bhava-duḥkḥarttās tā bhavanti tataḥ prajāḥ | 19. *Tuto durgāṇi tās cha-*
krur vārksyam pārcatam audakam | *kṛtīmāṁ cha tathā durgam pura-*
karvaṇakādi yat | 20. *Grihāṇi cha yathānyāyāṁ teshu chakruḥ purā-*
dīshu | *śītātāpādi-bādhanām praśamāya mahāmāte* | 21. *Pratikāram*
amāṁ kṛtrā śītādeś tāḥ prajāḥ punaḥ | *vārttlopāyaṁ tataś chakrur*
hastā-siddhāṁ cha karma-jam | . . . 26. *Grāmyāranyāḥ smṛitā hy etā*
oshadhyaś cha okaturdaśa | *yajna-nīshpattaye yojnaś iathā "sām helur*
uttamah | 27. *Etāś cha saka yajnena prajānām karāṇam param* |
parāpara-īdaḥ prajānās tato yajnān vilanvats | 28. *Ahany ahany*
anushṭhānam yajnānām munisattama | *upakāra-karam puṁśām kṛiya-*
māpāḥ cha śānti-dam | 29. *Teshām tu kāla-sṛiṣṭho 'sau pāpu-vindur*
mahāmāte | *chetassu varīdhe chakrus te na yajneshu mānasam* | 30.
Veda-vādāṁśu tathā devān yajnakarmādīkaṁ cha yat | *tat sarvaṁ nīn-*
damānās te yajna-ryāsedha-kāriṇaḥ | 31. *Pravṛtti-mārga-ryuchchitti-*
kāriṇo veda-mīdakūḥ | *durātmāno durāchārū babhūvūḥ kuṭīlāsāyūḥ* |
 32. *Saṁsiddhāyām tu vārttāyām prajāḥ sṛiṣṭvā Prajāpatīḥ* | *maryā-*
dām sthāpayāmāsa yathā-sthānam yathā-guṇam | 34. *Furnāṇām āśra-*
mānām cha dharmān dharmā-bhṛitām vara | *lokāṁś saria-varṇānām*
samyag dharmānupālīnām | 35. *Prajāpatyam brāhmanānām smṛitām*
sthānaṁ kṛiyāvātām | *sthānam avndraṁ kshatṛīyānām sangrūmeshv*
anvarttīnām | 36. *Vaiśyānām mārutam sthānaṁ sva-dharmam anu-*
varttīnām | *gāndharvaṁ śūdra-jātinām paricharyāsu varttīnām* |

✓ "Maitreya says: 1. You have described to me the Arvaksrotas, or human, creation: declare to me, o Brahman, in detail the manner in which Brahmā formed it. 2 Tell me how, and with what qualities, he created the castes, and what are traditionally reputed to be the

¹¹⁵ There are no verses numbered 12 and 13, the MSS. passing from the 11th to 14.

functions of the Brāhmanas and others. Parāśara replies: 3. When, true to his design, Brahmā became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) prevailed sprang from his mouth; (4) others in whom passion (*rajas*) predominated came from his breast; others in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) were strong, proceeded from his thighs; (5) others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet. 6. Brahmā formed this¹¹⁶ entire fourfold institution of classes for the performance of sacrifice, of which it is an excellent instrument. 7. Nourished by sacrifices, the gods nourish mankind by discharging rain. Sacrifices, the causes of prosperity, (8) are constantly celebrated by virtuous men, devoted to their duties, who avoid wrong observances, and walk in the right path. 9. Men, in consequence of their humanity, obtain heaven and final liberation; and they proceed to the world which they desire. 10. These creatures formed by Brahmā in the condition of the four castes, (were) perfectly inclined to conduct springing from religious faith, (11) loving to dwell wherever they pleased, free from all sufferings, pure in heart, pure, spotless in all observances. 14. And in their pure minds,—the pure Hari dwelling within them,—(there existed) pure knowledge whereby they beheld his highest station, called (that of) Vishṇu.¹¹⁷ 15. Afterwards that which is described as the portion of Hari consisting of Time¹¹⁸ infused into those beings direful sin, in the form of desire and the like, ineffective (of man's end), small in amount, but gradually increasing in force, (16) the seed of unrighteousness, and sprung from darkness and cupidty. 17. Thenceforward their innate perfectness was but slightly evolved: and as all the other eight perfections called *rasollāsa* and the rest (18) declined, and sin increased, these creatures (mankind) were afflicted with suffering arising

¹¹⁶ How does this agree with the statements made in the Taitt. Saṁh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. as quoted above, p. 16, and in the Taitt. Br. in 2, 3, 9, p. 21, that the Sūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, and that anything he milks out is no oblation?

¹¹⁷ This alludes to an expression in the Rig-veda, i. 22, 20. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 54.

¹¹⁸ In regard to *Kāla*, "Time," see Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 18 f., and the passages from the Atharva-veda, extracted in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 380 ff.

out of the pairs (of susceptibilities to pleasure and pain, etc., etc.) 19. They then constructed fastnesses among trees, on hills, or amid waters, as well as artificial fortresses, towns, villages, etc. 20. And in these towns, etc., they built houses on the proper plan, in order to counteract cold, heat, and other discomforts. 21. Having thus provided against cold, etc., they devised methods of livelihood depending upon labour, and executed by their hands." The kinds of grain which they cultivated are next described in the following verses 22 to 25. The text then proceeds, verso 26: "These are declared to be the fourteen kinds of grain, cultivated and wild, fitted for sacrifice; and sacrifice is an eminent cause of their existence. 27. These, too, along with sacrifice, are the most efficacious sources of progeny. Hence those who understand cause and effect celebrate sacrifices. 28. Their daily performance is beneficial to men, and delivers from sins committed. 29. But that drop of sin which had been created by time increased in men's hearts, and they disregarded sacrifice. 30. Reviling the Vedas, and the prescriptions of the Vedas, the gods, and all sacrificial rites, etc., obstructing oblations, (31) and cutting off the path of activity,¹¹⁹ they became malignant, vicious, and perverse in their designs. 32. The means of subsistence being provided, Prajāpati, having created living beings, established a distinction according to their position and qualities (see verses 3 to 5 above), (and fixed) the duties of the castes and orders, and the worlds (to be attained after death) by all the castes which perfectly fulfilled their duties. 33. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (future) abode of those Brāhmins who are assiduous in religious rites; the realm of Indra the abode of those Kshatriyas who turn not back in battle; (34) that of the Maruts the abode of those Vaiśyas who fulfil their duties; and that of the Gandharvas the abode of the men of Sudra race who abide in their vocation of service." In the remaining verses of the chapter (35 to 39) the realms of blessedness destined for the reception of more eminent saints are briefly noticed, as well as the infernal regions, to which the wicked are doomed.

¹¹⁹ *Praeritti-mārga-vyukchhitti-kāriṇaḥ*. The Commentator ascribes this to the human race being no longer sufficiently propagated, for he adds the explanation. *gayānānuakṣhāne devair avarshaṇād annābhāvena prayā-vriddher anddheh* | "because population did not increase from the want of food caused by the gods ceasing to send rain in consequence of the non-celebration of sacrifice."

At the beginning of the seventh section, without any further enquiry on the part of Maitreya, Parāśara proceeds as follows:

V. P. i. 7, 1. *Tato 'bhidyāyatas tasya jānīre mānasiḥ prajāḥ | tach-
chharira-samutpannāḥ kūr्याs tāḥ kārāṇāḥ saha |* 2. *Kṣhetrajñāḥ
samararttanta gūtrebhyas tasya dhīmataḥ | te sarve samavarttanta ye
mayā prāg udhṛitūḥ |* 3. *Deīdyāḥ sthūvarāntās cha traigunya-
vishaye sthitūḥ | eam dhūtāni sṛiṣṭāni charāṇi sthūvarāṇi cha |* 4.
*Yadā 'sya tūḥ prajāḥ sarvā va vyavarddhanta dhīmataḥ | athānyān
mānasān putrān sadṛiṣān ātmāno 'sṛiyat |* 5. *Bhrigum Pulastyam Pu-
laham Kṛatūm Angarasam tathā | Marichim Dakṣam Atriṁ cha Vasish-
ṭham chavā mānasān | nava bruhmāna ity eto purāṇe nischayaṁ gatāḥ |*
6. *Sanandanādayo ye cha purvān sṛiṣṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv
asajjanta nṛapekṣhāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñānā vīta-rāgā
vimatsarāḥ |* 7. *Teshv evaṁ nṛapelsheshu loka-sṛiṣṭau mahātmanah |
Brahmaṇo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya-dāhana kṣhamah |* 8. *Tasya
krodhāt samudbhūta-jyālā-mālā-rūpitaḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvāṁ
trailokyam akṣitam mune |* 9. *Bhrūkṣi-kutīlāt tasya lūlītāt krodha-
dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnāi ka-sama-prabhāḥ | urdha-
nārī-nava-āpuḥ prachando 'tisārīravān | vibhājātmānam ity uktīā tam
Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ |* 10. *Tathokto 'sau deīdhā strīṭam puruṣat-
vaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda puruṣkṛvāṁ cha dāsadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ |*
11. *Saumyaśaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strīṭvāṁ cha sa prabhuh | bi-
bheda bahudhā deīah svarūpāḥ asitaiḥ sitaiḥ |* 12. *Tato Bruhmā "tma-
sambhūtam pūrvaṁ svāyambhūtam prabhūm | ātmānam eva kṛitān pra-
jāpālam Manuṁ driyo |* 13. *Satarūpāṁ cha tāṁ nārīṁ tapo-nīrdhūta-
kalmashām | svāyambhūto Manur deīah patnyarthaṁ jagrihe vibhuh |*
14. *Tasmāch cha puruṣhād deī Satarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottāna-
pādaḥ Prasūtyūkūti-sanyūtam | kanyā-dāyaṁ cha dharmā-jña rūpa-
dārya-guṇānṛitam |* 15. *Dadau Prasūtiṁ Dakṣayāthākūlīm Ruchayo
purā ityādi |*

"1. Then from him, as he was desiring, there were born mental sons with effects and causes¹²⁰ derived from his body. 2 Embodied spirits sprang from the limbs of that wise Being. All those creatures sprang forth which have been already described by me, (3) beginning

¹²⁰ The Commentator explains these words *kūr्याs tāḥ kārāṇāḥ saha* to mean

with gods and ending with motionless objects, and existing in the condition of the three qualities. Thus were created beings moving and stationary. 4. When none of these creatures of the Wise Being multiplied, he next formed other, mental, sons like to himself, (5) Bhṛigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marīchi, Daksha, Atri, and Vasishtha, all born from his mind. These are the nine Bruhmās who have been determined in the Purāṇas. 6. But Sanandana and the others who had been previously created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent to offspring. They had all attained to knowledge, were freed from desire, and devoid of envy. 7. As they were thus indifferent about the creation of the world, great wrath, sufficient to burn up the three worlds, arose in the mighty Brahmā. 8. The three worlds became entirely illuminated by the wreath of flame which sprang from his anger. 9. Then from his forehead, wrinkled by frowns and inflamed by fury, arose Rudra, luminous as the midday sun, with a body half male and half female, fiery, and huge in bulk. After saying to him, 'Divide thyself,' Brahmā vanished. 10. Being so addressed, Rudra severed himself into two, into a male and a female form. The god next divided his male body into eleven parts, (11) beautiful and hideous, gentle and ungentle; and his female figure into numerous portions with appearances black and white. 12. Brahmā then made the lord Svāyambhuva, who had formerly sprung from himself, and was none other than himself, to be Manu the protector of creatures. 13. The god Manu Svāyambhuva took for his wife the female Satarūpā, who by austere fervour had become freed from all defilement. 14. To that Male the goddess Satarūpā bore Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and two daughters called Prasūti and Ākūti, distinguished by the qualities of beauty and magnanimity. 15. He of old gave Prasūti in marriage to Daksha, and Ākūti to Ituchi."

From a comparison of the preceding narratives of the creation of mankind, extracted from the fifth and sixth chapters of the First Book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, it will be seen that the details given in the different accounts are not consistent with each other. It is first of all stated in the fifth chapter (verse 16) that the arvāksrotas, or human creation was characterized by the qualities of darkness and passion. In the second account (verse 33) we are told that Brahmā assumed a body composed of passion, from which men, in whom that quality is power-

ful, were produced.¹²¹ In neither of these narratives is the slightest allusion made to there having been any primeval and congenital distinction of classes. In the third statement given in the sixth chapter (verses 3 to 5) the human race is said to have been the result of a four-fold creation, and the four castes, produced from different parts of the creator's body, are declared to have been each especially characterized by different qualities (*gunas*), viz., those who issued from his mouth by goodness (*sattva*), those who proceeded from his breast by passion (*rajas*), those who were produced from his thighs by both passion and darkness (*tamas*), and those who sprang from his feet by darkness. In the sequel of this account, however, no mention is made of any differences of conduct arising from innate diversities of disposition having been manifested in the earliest age by the members of the different classes. On the contrary, they are described (verses 10 ff) in language applicable to a state of perfection which was universal and uniform, as full of faith, pure-hearted and devout. In like manner the declension in purity and goodness which ensued is not represented as peculiar to any of the classes, but as common to all. So far, therefore, the different castes seem, according to this account, to have been undistinguished by any variety of mental or moral constitution. And it is not until after the deterioration of the entire race has been related, that we are told (in verses 32 f) that the separate duties of the several castes were fixed in accordance with their position and qualities. This sketch of the moral and religious history of mankind, in the earliest period, is thus deficient in failing to explain how beings, who were originally formed with very different ethical characters, should have been all equally excellent during their period of perfection, and have also experienced an uniform process of decline.

In regard to the variation between the two narratives of the creation found in the fifth chapter of the Vishnu Purāṇa, Professor Wilson remarks as follows in a note to vol i p 80 "These reiterated, and not always very congruous, accounts of the creation are explained by the Purāṇas as referring to different Kalpas or renovations of the world, and therefore involving no incompatibility. A better reason for their appearance

¹²¹ Compare the passage given above at the close of Sect. V. pp. 41 ff., from Manu
 xii 1 ff 2 1 the

is the probability that they have been borrowed from different original authorities."¹²²

As regards the first of these explanations of the discrepancies in question, it must be observed that it is inapplicable to the case before us, as the text of the Vishnu Purāṇa itself says nothing of the different accounts of the creation having reference to different Kalpas: and in absence of any intimation to the contrary we must naturally assume that the various portions of the consecutive narration in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, which are connected with each other by a series of questions and answers, must all have reference to the creation which took place at the commencement of the existing or Vārāha Kalpa, as stated in the opening verse of the fourth chapter. Professor Wilson's supposition that the various and discrepant accounts "have been borrowed from different original authorities" appears to have probability in its favour. I am unable to point out the source from which the first description of the creation, in the early part of the fifth chapter, verses 1 to 23, has been derived. But the second account, given in verses 26 to 35, has evidently drawn many of its details from the passages of the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 5-9, and ii. 3, 8, 2 f., and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 1, 6, 6 ff. which I have quoted above. And it is possible that the references which are found in the former of these descriptions in the Vishnu Purāṇa to different portions of the creation

¹²² The discrepancies between current legends on different subjects are occasionally noticed in the text of the Vishnu Purāṇa. Thus in the eighth chapter of the first book, v. 12, Matsya, who had been told by Parāśara that Śrī was the daughter of Bhṛigu and Khyāti, enquires *Kṣhīrābāhu Śrīḥ puṇyānā śrīyate 'mrta-maṇthane | Bhṛigoh Khyātīyāṁ sanutpannety etad āha katham bhavāt |* "It is reported that Śrī was produced in the ocean of milk when ambrosia was churned. How do you say that she was born to Bhṛigu by Khyāti?" He receives for answer v. 13. *Nityava sū jagann-mātā Vishṇoh Śrīḥ anapāyini* (another MS reads *anuyāyini*) *yathā sarvagato Vishṇus tathācyuṁ devottama |* "Śrī, the mother of the world, and wife of Vishṇu, is eternal and undecaying" (or, according to the other reading, "is the eternal follower of Vishṇu"). "As he is omnipresent, so is she," and so on. The case of Dakṣiṇa will be noticed further on in the text. On the method resorted to by the Commentators in cases of this description Professor Wilson observes in a note to p. 203 (4to edition), "other calculations occur, the incompatibility of which is said, by the Commentators on our text and on that of the Bhāgavata, to arise from reference being made to different Kalpas, and they quote the same stanza to this effect *Kvachit kvachit purāṇeshu varodho yadā lakṣhyate | kalpa-bhedādābhis tatra varodhah sūbhīr uchyate |* "Whenever any contradictions in different Purāṇas are observed, they are ascribed by the pious to differences of Kalpas and the like."

being ineffective may have been suggested by some of the other details in the Brāhmanas, which I shall now proceed to cite. At all events some of the latter appear to have given rise to the statement in the fourth verso of the seventh chapter of the Vishṇu P. that the creatures formed by Brahmā did not multiply, as well as to various particulars in the narratives which will be quoted below from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas. The Brāhmanas describe the creative operations of Prajāpati as having been attended with intense effort, and often followed by great exhaustion; and not only so, but they represent many of these attempts to bring living creatures of various kinds into existence, to sustain them after they were produced, and to ensure their propagation, as having been either altogether abortive, or only partially successful. The following quotations will afford illustrations of these different points:

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 10, 1. *Prajāpatih prajāḥ asṛjata | sa virichāno 'man-yata | sa topo 'tapyata | sa ātman iriyam apaśyat tad avardhata |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. He felt himself emptied. He performed austere abstraction. He perceived vigour in himself. It increased, etc."

Taitt. Br. i. 2, 6, 1. *Prajāpatih prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā ṛpitto¹²³ 'śayat | tañ denāḥ bhūtānāṃ rasaṃ tejah sambhṛitya tena enam abhishajyan "mahān avavartti" iti |*

"Prajāpati after creating living beings lay exhausted. The gods, collecting the essence and vigour of existing things, cured him therewith, saying he has become great, etc."

Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 6, 1. *Prajāpatih prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā vyasraṃsata | sa hrī-dayam bhūto 'śayat |*

"Prajāpati, after creating living beings, was paralysed. Becoming a heart, he slept."

S. P. Br. iii. 9, 1, 1. *Prajāpatir vai prajāḥ sasṛjāno virichānaḥ iva amanyata | tasmāt parāchyah prajāḥ āsuh | na asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnād-yāya jajure | 2. Sa aṅkshata "aṅkshy aham asmaḥ (? yasmai) u kāmāya asṛikshu na me sa kāmāḥ samārdhi parāchyo mat-prajāḥ abhūvan na me prajāḥ śriye 'nnād-yāya asthishata" iti | 3. Sa aṅkshata Prajāpatih "katham nu punar ātmānam āpyādyeya upa mā prajāḥ samāvaritṭeraṇaḥ tishṭheran me prajāḥ śriye annād-yāya" iti | so 'rechhan śrāmyamāś cha-*

*chāra prajā-kāmah | sa etām ekādaśinīm apasyat | sa ekādaśinyā ishtrā
Prajāpatih punar ātmānam āpyāyayata upa enam prajāh samāvartanta
atishthanta asya prajāh śrīye 'nnādyāya sa vasiyān eva ishtrā 'bhavat |*

"Prajapati when creating living beings felt himself as it were emptied. The living creatures went away from him. They were not produced so as to prosper and to eat food. 2. He considered: 'I have become emptied: the object for which I created them has not been fulfilled: they have gone away, and have not gained prosperity and food.' 3. He considered: 'how can I again replenish myself; and how shall my creatures return to me, and acquire prosperity and food?' Desirous of progeny, he went on worshipping and performing religious rites. He beheld this Ekādaśinī (Eleven); and sacrificing with it, he again replenished himself, his creatures returned to him, and gained prosperity and food. Having sacrificed, he became more brilliant."

S. P. Br. x. 4, 2, 2. *So 'yañ samvatsarah Prajāpatih sarvāñi bhūtāni
sasrīye yach cha prāñi yach cha aprāñam ubhayān deva-manushyān | sa
sarvāñi bhūtāni srishtvā vricchāna na mene | sa mrityor biddhyānchakāra |
2. Sa ha ikshānchakre "kathāñi nva aham imāni sarvāñi bhūtāni punar
ātmānam āropeya punar ātmānam dadhīya kathāñi nva aham eva eśhām sar-
vashām bhūtānām punar ātmā eśhām" iti |*

"This Year, (who is) Prajapati, created all beings, both those which breathe and those that are without breath, both gods and men. Having created all beings he felt himself as it were emptied. He was afraid of death. 2 He reflected, 'How can I again unite all these beings with myself, again place them in myself? How can I alone be again the soul of all these beings?'"

S. P. Br. x. 4, 4, 1. *Prajāpatir vai prajāh sriyamānam pāpmā mrī-
tyur abhipariyagdhāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasrañ samvatsarān pāpmānam
vyuhāsan |*

"Misery, death, smote Prajapati, as he was creating living beings. He performed austere abstraction for a thousand years, with the view of shaking off misery."

S. P. Br. ii. 5, 1, 1. *Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekah eva āsa | sa
aikshata "kathāñi nu prajāyeya" iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa
prajāh asriyata | tāh asya prajāh srishtāh parābabbhūuḥ | tāni imāni
vayāñsi | puruṣo vai Prajāpater nedishtham | dvipād vai ayam puru-
ṣaḥ | tasmād dvipādo vayāñsi | 2. Sa aikshata Prajāpatih | "yathā*

*nv eva purā eko 'bhūvam evam u nv eva apy etarhy eka eva asmi" iti | sa dvitīyāḥ sarpiḥ | tāḥ asya parā eva babhūvuh | tad idam kshudram sarī-
sripaṁ yad anyat sarpebhyah | tritīyāḥ sarpiḥ ity āhuḥ tāḥ asya parā eva
babhūvuh | te ime sarpāḥ . . . | 3 So 'rchhan śrāmyan Prajāpatir
īkshāṇchakre "katham nu me prajāḥ sṛiṣṭāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ha
etaḥ eva dadarśa "anaśanātayā vai me prajāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa
ātmanah eva agre stanayoḥ paya ūpyāyayānchakre | sa prajāḥ asṛijata |
tāḥ asya prajāḥ sṛiṣṭāḥ stanāv eva abhipadya tās tatah sambabhūvuh |
tāḥ imāḥ aparābhūtāḥ |*

"1. Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He reflected, 'How can I be propagated?' He toiled in religious rites, and practised austere fervour. He created living beings. After being created by him they perished. They were these birds. Man is the thing nearest to Prajāpati. This being, man, is two-footed. Hence birds are two-footed creatures. Prajāpati reflected, 'As I was formerly but one, so am I now also only one.' He created a second set of living beings. They also perished. This was the class of small reptiles other than serpents. They say he created a third set of beings, which also perished. They were these serpents . . . 3 Worshipping and toiling in religious rites, Prajāpati reflected, 'How is it that my creatures perish after they have been formed?' He perceived this, 'they perish from want of food.' In his own presence he caused milk to be supplied to breasts. He created living beings, which resorting to the breasts were then preserved. These are the creatures which did not perish "

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 2, 1. *Vaiśvadevena vai Prajāpatih prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ
sṛiṣṭāḥ na prājāyanta | so 'gnir akūmayata "aham imāḥ prajānāyeyam"
iti | sa Prajāpataye śucham adadhāt | so 'śochat prajāṁ ichhamānaḥ |
tasmād yaṁ cha prajā bhunakti yaṁ cha na tāv ubhau śochataḥ prajāṁ
ichhamānau | tāsv Agnim apy asṛijat | tū Agyir adhyat (2) Somo
reto 'dadhāt Savitā prājānayat | Sarasvatī vācham adadhāt | Pūṣhā
'poshayat | te vai ete triḥ saṁvatsarasya prayujyante ye devāḥ pūṣṭi-
patayuh | saṁvatsaro vai Prajāpatih | saṁvatsareṇa eva asmai prajāḥ
prajānayat | tāḥ prajāḥ jātāḥ Maruto 'ghnan "asmān api na prāyuk-
shata" iti | 3. Sa etam Prajāpatir mārutaṁ saptakapūlam apaśyat |
taṁ nirāpatat | tato vai prajābhyo 'kalpata | . . . sa Prajāpatir aśochat
"yūḥ pūrvāḥ prajāḥ asṛikṣh Marutas tūḥ avadhikṣuh katham aparāḥ*

*asrijeya" it | tasya śuśhma āṇḍam bhūtaṁ niravarttata | tad vyudaharat |
tad aposhayat | tat prājūyata |*

"Prajāpati formed living creatures by the vaiśvadeva (offering to the Viśvedevas). Being created they did not propagate. Agni desired 'let me beget these creatures.' He imparted grief to Prajāpati. He grieved, desiring offspring. Hence he whom offspring blesses, and he whom it does not bless, both of them grieve, desiring progeny. Among them he created Agni also. Agni desired (?) them. Soma infused seed. Savitri beget them. Sarasvatī infused into them speech. Pūshan nourished them. These (gods) who are lords of nourishment are employed thrice in the year. Prajāpati is the Year. It was through the year that he generated offspring for him. The Maruts killed those creatures when they had been born, saying 'they have not employed us also. 3. Prajāpati saw this Māruta oblation in seven platters. He offered it. In consequence of it he became capable of producing offspring. . . Prajāpati lamented, (saying) 'the Maruts have slain the former living beings whom I created. How can I create others?' His vigour sprang forth in the shape of an egg. He took it up. He cherished it. It became productive."

Taitt. Br. iii 10, 9, 1. *Prajāpatir devān asrijata | te pāpmanā sandi-
tāḥ ajāyanta | tān vyadyat |*

"Prajāpati created gods. They were born bound by misery. He released them."

Taitt. Br. ii 7, 9, 1. *Prajāpatih prajāḥ asrijata | tāḥ asmāt sṛṣṭāḥ
parācākṛ āyan | sa etam Prajāpatir odanam apaśyat | so 'nnam bhūto
'tishṭhat | tāḥ anyatra annādyam avitū Prajāpatim prajāḥ upāvart-
tanta |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. They went away from him. He beheld this odana. He was turned into food. Having found food nowhere else, they returned to him."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 4, 1. *Prajāpatih Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ asrijata | ta
enam atyamanyanta | ta asmād apākṛāman | tā Varuṇo bhūtvā prajāḥ
Varuṇena agrāhayat | tāḥ prajāḥ Varuṇa-grīhitāḥ Prajāpatim punar
upādharan nātham icchamānāḥ |*

"Prajāpati, becoming Savitri, created living beings. They disregarded him, and went away from him. Becoming Varuṇa he caused Varuṇa to seize them. Being seized by Varuṇa, they again ran to Prajāpati, desiring help."

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 1, 1. *Tato vai sa (Prajāpatiḥ) prajāḥ aśrijata | tāḥ asmat sṛiṣṭhā apākrāman |*

"Prajāpati then created living beings. They went away from him."

I have perhaps quoted too many of these stories, which are all similar in character. But I was desirous to afford some idea of their number as well as of their tenor.

As regards the legend of Satarūpā, referred to in the seventh chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I shall make some further remarks in a future section, quoting a more detailed account given in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Of the two sons of Manu Svāyambhuva and Satarūpā, the name of the second, Uttānapāda, seems to have been suggested by the appearance of the word Uttānapad in Rig-veda x 72, 3, 4, as the designation (nowhere else traceable, I believe) of one of the intermediate agents in the creation.¹²⁴ A Priyavrata is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii 31, and also in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 3, 5, 14, (where he has the patronymic of Rauhinyāyana) but in both these texts he appears rather in the light of a religious teacher, who had lived not very long before the age of the author, than as a personage belonging to a very remote antiquity. Dakṣa also, who appears in this seventh chapter as one of the mindborn sons of Brahmā, is named in R V ii 27, 1, as one of the Ādityas, and in the other hymn of the R.V. just alluded to, x. 72, vv. 4 and 5, he is noticed as being both the son and the father of the goddess Aditi. In the S. P. ii. 4, 4, he is identified with Prajāpati.¹²⁵ In regard to his origin various legends are discoverable in the Purāṇas. Besides the passage before us, there are others in the V. P. in which he is mentioned. In iv. 1, 5, it is said that he sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā, and that Aditi was his daughter (*Brahmanascha dakṣināṅguṣṭha-janmā Dakṣah | Prajāpater Dakṣasyāpy Aditiḥ*). In another place, V. P. i. 15, 52, it is said that Dakṣa, although formerly the son of Brahmā, was born to the ten Prachetases by Mārīṣhā (*Daśabhyas tu Prachetobhyo Mārīṣhūyām Prajāpatiḥ | jājne Dakṣo mahābhūgo yaḥ pūriam Brahmanō 'bhavat |*). This double pa-

¹²⁴ See the 4th vol. of this work, pp 10 f.

¹²⁵ See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 ff. 24, 101; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 72 ff., Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 75.

rentage of Daksha appears to Maitreya, one of the interlocutors in the Purāṇa, to require explanation, and he accordingly enquires of his informant, vv. 60 ff.: *Anguṣṭhād dakṣiṇād Dakṣaḥ pūraṇaṁ jātaḥ śrutam mayā | latham Prācetaso bhūyah sa sambhūto mahāmune | eṣa me saṁśayo brahmaṇ sumahān hrīdi varṭtate | yad dauhitraś cha somasya punaḥ kṣaśuratūṁ gataḥ | Parāśara uvācha | utpattiś cha nirodhaś cha nityau bhūteshu var mune | ṛṣayo 'tra na muhyanti ye chūṇyo duya-
chakṣuṣaḥ | 61. Yuge yuge bhavanti ete Dakṣādyaḥ muni-sattama | punaś chaiva nirudhyante viditūṁ tatra na muhyati | 62. Kānīṣṭhyaṁ jyaiṣṭhyam apy eṣāṁ pūraṇaṁ nābhūd drījottama | tapa eva gariyo 'bhūt prabhāvaś chaiva kārṇam |*

"60 I have heard that Daksha was formerly born from the right thumb of Brahmā. How was he again produced as the son of the Prachetasas? This great doubt arises in my mind; and also (the question) how he, who was the daughter's son of Soma,¹²⁶ afterwards became his father-in-law. Parāśara answered. Both birth and destruction are perpetual among all creatures. Ṛṣis, and others who have celestial insight, are not bewildered by this. In every age Daksha and the rest are born and are again destroyed. A wise man is not bewildered by this. Formerly, too, there was neither juniority nor seniority: austere fervour was the chief thing, and power was the cause (of distinction)."

The reader who desires further information regarding the part played by Daksha, whether as a progenitor of allegorical beings, or as a creator, may compare the accounts given in the sequel of the seventh and in the eleventh chapters of Book I. of the V. P. (pp. 108 ff. and 152 ff.) with that to be found in the fifteenth chapter (vol. ii. pp. 10 ff.).

I will merely add, in reference to Akūti, the second daughter of Manu Svāyambhuva and Satarūpā, that the word is found in the Rig-veda with the signification of "will" or "design;" but appears to be personified in a passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 12, 9, 5 (the context of which has been cited above, p. 41), where it is said: *Irā patnī vīśvasṛjyām ākūtrī apināḍ havīḥ |* "Irā (Iḍā) was the wife of the creators. Akūti kneaded the oblation."

¹²⁶ See Wilson's V. P. vol. ii. p. 2, at the top.

SECT. VIII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas.*

I now proceed to extract from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas the accounts which they supply of the creation, and which are to the same effect as those which have been quoted from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, although with many varieties of detail.

I shall first adduce a passage from the fifth chapter of the Vāyu (which to some extent runs parallel with the second chapter of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa¹⁷¹), on account of its containing a different account from that generally given of the triad of gods who correspond to the triad of qualities (*guṇas*)

Vāyu Purāṇa, chapter v. verse 11. *Ahar-mukho prairitte cha parāḥ prakṛiti-sambhavaḥ | kṣobhayaṁāsa yogena pareṇa parameśvraḥ | 12. Pradhānam puruṣam chaiva praiśyāṇḍam Maheśvaraḥ | 13. Pradhānāt kṣobhayaṁānāt tu rajo vai samavarttata | rajaḥ praviarttakaṁ tatra vījeshv apī yathā jalam | 14. Guṇa-raśmānyam āsūḍya prasūyante hy adhīṣṭhitaḥ | guṇibhyaḥ kṣobhayaṁānibhyas trayo devā vyajñire | 15. Āśritaḥ¹⁷² paramā guhyāt sarvātmanāḥ śarīṇaḥ | rajo Brahmā tamo hy Agniḥ sattvam Viṣṇuḥ apyāyata | 16. Rajaḥ-prakāśako Brahmā vrashtṛtrena vyavasthitaḥ | tamah-prakāśako 'gnis tu kīlātrena vyavasthitaḥ | 17. Sattva-prakāśako Viṣṇuḥ audāsīṇye vyavasthitaḥ | ete eva trayo lokā ete eva trayo guṇāḥ | 18. Ete eva trayo vedā ete eva trayo 'gnayaḥ | parasparaśritāḥ hy ete parasparam anuvartatāḥ | 19. Paraspāreṇa vartante dhārayanti parasparam | anyonya-mithunā hy ete hy anyonyam upajñimāḥ | 20. Kṣhaṇam vyogo na hy eśhām na tyajanti parasparam | Īśvaro hi paro devo Viṣṇuḥ tu mahataḥ parāḥ | 21. Brahmā tu rajosa-dṛitāḥ saṁgūyeha praviarttata | paraścha puruṣo jneyaḥ prakṛtiścha parā smṛitā |*

“11, 12. At the beginning of the day, the supreme Lord Maheśvara, sprung from Prakṛiti, entering the egg, agitated with extreme intentness both Pradhāna (= Prakṛiti) and Puruṣa. 13. From

¹⁷¹ See pp 27 and 41 f. of Wilson's V. P. vol. i.

¹⁷² The Gaikowar MS of the India office, No. 2102, reads *āsthitāḥ*, instead of *āśritaḥ*, the reading of the Taylor MS.

Pradhāna, when agitated, the quality of passion (*rajas*) arose, which was there a stimulating cause, as water is in seeds. 14. When an inequality in the *Guṇas* arises, then (the deities) who preside over them are generated. From the *Guṇas* thus agitated there sprang three gods (15), indwelling, supreme, mysterious, animating all things, embodied. The *rajas* quality was born as *Brahmā*, the *tamas* as *Agni*,¹⁵⁹ the *sattva* as *Vishṇu*. 16. *Brahmā*, the manifestor of *rajas*, acts in the character of creator; *Agni*, the manifestor of *tamas*, acts in the capacity of time; 17. *Vishṇu*, the manifestor of *sattva*, abides in a condition of indifference. These deities are the three worlds, the three qualities, (18) the three Vedas, the three fires; they are mutually dependent, mutually devoted. 19. They exist through each other, and uphold each other; they are twin-parts of one another, they subsist through one another. 20. They are not for a moment separated; they never abandon one another. *Īśvara* (*Mahādeva*) is the supreme god; and *Vishṇu* is superior to *Mahat* (the principle of intelligence); while *Brahmā*, filled with *rajas*, engages in creation. *Purusha* is to be regarded as supreme, as *Prakṛiti* is also declared to be."

The sixth section of the *Vāyu P.*, from which the next quotation will be made, corresponds to the fourth of the *Vishṇu P.* quoted above.

1. *Āpo hy agre samobharan nashṭe 'gnau prithivī-tale | sāntarālaika-*
line 'smin nashṭe sthāvara-jangame | 2 *Ekānānt tadā tasmin na prajñā-*
yata kinchana | tadā sa bhagavān Brahmā sahasraślokaḥ sahasra-pāt |
3. *Sahasra-śīrṣhā Puruṣo rukma-rājno hy atīndriyāḥ | Brahmā Nārā-*
yaṇāhlyah sa sushvāpa salile tadā | 4. Sattvotrekaḥ prabuddhas tu sūn-
yam loham utīkshya sah | imam chodāharanty atra ślokaḥ Nārāyaṇam
** prati | 5. Āpo nārā vai tanavaḥ¹⁶⁰ ity apām nāma śū'rma | apsu śete*
cha yat tasmāt tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitah | 6. Tulyaṁ yuga-sahasrasya
naiṣam kalam upāya sah | śarīry-ante prakṛito brahmalam sarga-
kāranāt | 7 Brahmā tu salile tasmin rūpāt bhūtvā tadā 'charat | nīṣāyām
va khadyotiḥ prāvṛṣṭi-kāle tatas talah | 8 Tatas tu salile tasmin vijnā-
yāntargatām mahim | anumānād asannmūdhō bhūmīr udāharanam prati |

¹⁵⁹ The *Mārk P.* chap. 46, verse 18, has the same line, but substitutes *Rudra* for *Agni*, thus. *Rūjo Brahmā tamo Rudro Vishṇuḥ sattvaṁ jagat-pāth |* The two are often identified. See Vol. IV. of this work, 282 ff.

¹⁶⁰ See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 57, with the translator's and editor's notes. Verses 1 to 6 are repeated towards the close of the 7th section of the *Vāyu P.* with
var.

9. *Akarot sa tanon hy anyām kalpādishu yathā purā | tato mahātmā manasā dṛyañ rūpam achintayat |* 10. *Salilēnāplutām bhūmim drishtvā sa tu samantataḥ | “kim nu rūpam mahat kṛtvā uddhareyam aham mahim” |* 11. *Jala-kṛidā-suruchiram vārūhañ rūpam asmarat | adhṛishyañ saria-bhūtānām vāñmayam dharma-sanjñitam |*

“1. When fire had perished from the earth, and this entire world motionless and moving, together with all intermediate things, had been dissolved into one mass, and had been destroyed—waters first were produced. As the world formed at that time but one ocean, nothing could be distinguished. Then the divine Brahmā, Purusha, with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, (3) a thousand heads, of golden hue, beyond the reach of the senses—Brahmā, called Nārāyaṇa, slept on the water. 4 But awaking in consequence of the predominance (in him) of the sattva quality, and beholding the world a void—: Here they quote a verse regarding Nārāyaṇa: 5 ‘The waters are the bodies of Nara: such is the name we have heard given to them; and because he sleeps upon them, he is called Nārāyaṇa’ 6 Having so continued for a nocturnal period equal to a thousand Yugas, at the end of the night he takes the character of Brahmā in order to create. 7. Brahmā then becoming Vāyu (wind) moved upon that water,¹³¹ hither and thither, like a firefly at night in the rainy season. 8 Discovering then by inference that the earth lay within the waters, but unbewildered, (9) he took, for the purpose of raising it up, another body, as he had done at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas. Then that Great Being devised a celestial form. 10 Perceiving the earth to be entirely covered with water, (and asking himself) ‘what great shape shall I assume in order that I may raise it up?’—he thought upon the form of a boar, brilliant from aquatic play, invincible by all creatures, formed of speech, and bearing the name of righteousness”

The body of the boar is then described in detail, and afterwards the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, and the restoration of its former shape, divisions, etc.¹³²—the substance of the account being

¹³¹ This statement, which is not in the corresponding passage of the Vishnu P., is evidently borrowed, along with other particulars, from the text of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted above p. 52

¹³² Following the passage of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, quoted above, the writer in one verse ascribes to Brahmā as Visvakarman the arrangement of the earth, *tatas teśhu viśvīrṣeshu lokodadhī-girishv atha | Iśvakarmā vibhajate kalpādishu punaḥ punaḥ |*

much the same, but the particulars different from those of the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

Then follows a description of the creation coinciding in all essential points¹³³ with that quoted above, p. 55, from the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The further account of the creation, however, corresponding to that which I have quoted from the next part of the same chapter of that Purāṇa, is not found in the same position in the Vāyu Purāṇa,¹³⁴ but is placed at the beginning of the ninth chapter, two others, entitled *Pratisandhi-kīrttana* and *Chaturāśama-vibhāga*, being interposed as the seventh and eighth. With the view, however, of facilitating comparison between the various cosmogonies described in the two works, I shall preserve the order of the accounts as found in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and place the details given in the ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa before those supplied in the eighth.

The ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is fuller in its details than the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, begins thus, without any specific reference to the contents of the preceding chapter:

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Tato 'bhidhyāyatas tasya jajñire mānasīḥ prajāḥ | tach-chharīra-samutpannāḥ kūr्याs tach kūrāṇaḥ sahu* | 2. *Kṣhetraṇāḥ samavartanta gātrebhyas tasya dhīmataḥ | tato devāsura-piṭrīn mōnavaṁ cha chatushtayam* | 3. *Sirīkṣhur ambhāṁśy etān svātmanā samayūyujāt | yuktātmanas tatas tasya tamonūtrā svayambhuraḥ* | 4. *Tam abhidhyāyatak sargam prayatno 'bhūt Prajūpateḥ | 'ato 'sya jaghanāt pūrvam asurā jajñire sūtāḥ* | 5. *Asuḥ prāṇaḥ smṛito vipraīḥ taj-janmūnas tato 'surāḥ | yayā sṛiṣṭīśśurāś tanvā tān tanuṁ sa vyapohata*¹³⁵ | 6. *Sā 'paiddhā tanus tena sadyo rātrir ajāyata | sū tamo-bahulā yasmāt tato rātris triyāmikā* | 7. *Ārītās tamasā rātrau prajāś tasmāt svapuntī uta | dṛiṣṭiā 'surāśś tu dereśās tanum anyām apadyata* | 8. *Aryaktūm sattva-bahulūṁ tatas tān so 'bhyayūyujāt | tatas tān yunjatas tasya priyam āsit prabhōḥ kilu* | 9. *Tato mukhe samutpannā dīvyatas tasya devatāḥ | yato 'sya dīvyato jātās tena devāḥ*

¹³³ This is also the case with the details given in the Mārķ P. xlvii. 15-27 and ff.

¹³⁴ The Mārķ. P. however observes the same order as the Vishṇu P.

¹³⁵ The reading in the passage of the Taitt Br. ii. 2, 9, 6, from which this narrative is borrowed (see above, p. 28), is *apāhata*,—which, however, does not prove that that verb with *vi* prefixed should necessarily be the true reading here, as the Taylor and Gaskowar MSS. have *vyapohata* throughout, and in one place *vyapohat*.

prakīrtitāḥ | 10. *Dhātur dvīti yaḥ proktaḥ kṛidyām sa vibhāvate* | *tasmāt* (° *yasmāt*) *tanuṁ tu diryāyām janyire tena devatāḥ* | 11. *Devān śṛiṣṭvā 'tha deveśas tanum anyām apadyata* | *sattva - mātrātmikāṁ devas tato 'nyām so 'bhyapadyata*¹⁵⁶ | 12. *Pitrivad manyamūnas tām putrān prūdhyaṇā prabhuk* | *pitaro hy upapalsābhyaṁ*¹⁵⁷ *rātry-ahnor antarā 'sṛjāt* | 13. *Tasmāt te pitaro devāḥ putratvaṁ tena teshu tat* | *yayū śṛiṣṭvā tu pitoras tām tanuṁ sa vyapohata* | 14. *Sā 'paridhū tanus tena sadyah sandhyā prajāyata* | *tasmād ahas tu devānām rātrir yā sā* "sūri smṛitā" | 15. *Tayor madhye tu vai paitrī yā tanuḥ sā garīyasī* | *tasmād devāsuraḥ sarve rishayo manavas tathā* | 16. *Te yuktās tām upāsante rātry-ahnor*¹⁵⁸ *madhyamām tanum* | *tato 'nyām sa punar Brahmā tanuṁ vai pratyapadyata* | 17. *Rajo-mātrātmikū yām tu manasā so 'sṛjāt prabhuk* | *rajah-prāyān tatah so 'tha mānasān asṛjāt sutān* | 18. *Manasas tu talas tasya mānasā janyire prajāḥ* | *drishṭvā punah prajāś chāpi svām tanuṁ tām apohata* | 19. *Sā 'paridhū tanus tena jyotsnā sadyas tr ayāyata* | *tasmād bhuvanti saṁhrīṣṭā jyotsnāyām udbhavo prajāḥ* | 20. *Ity etās tanavas tena nyapavidhū mahatmanā* | *sadyo rātry-ahantī chava sandhyā jyotsnā cha janyire* | 21. *Jyotsnā sandhyā tathā 'haścha sattva-mātrātmikāṁ svayam* | *tamo-mātrātmikā rātriḥ sā vai tasmāt triyūmikā* | 22. *Tasmād devā dirya tanū*¹⁵⁹ *drish-tāḥ śṛiṣṭvā muktāt tu vai* | *yasmāt teshām dvā janma balinas tena te divā* | 23. *Tanvā yad asurān rātrau jaghanād asṛjāt punah* | *prāṇebhyo rātri-janmāno hy asahyā nīsi tena te* | 24. *Etāny evam bhavishyūnām devānām asurāḥ saha* | *pitṛinām mānavānām cha atītānāgateshu vai* | 25. *Manantareshu sarveshu nimittāni bhavanti hi* | *jyotsnā rātry-ahantī sandhyā chatvāry ambhāṁsi tāni vai* | 26. *Bhānti yasmāt tato 'mbhāṁsi bhā-sabdo 'yam manīṣibhiḥ* | *vyūpti-dīptyaṁ nyadito pumāṁś chāha Prajūpatīḥ* | 27. *So 'mbhāṁsy etāni drishṭvā tu deva-dānava-mānavān* | *pitṛināś chaivāsṛjāt so 'nyām ātmano vridhān punah* | 28. *Tām utsṛjya tanuṁ kritsnām tato 'nyām asṛjāt prabhuk* | *mūrtīm rajas-tama-prāyām punar eābhyayuyujāt* | 29. *Andhakāre kṣudhāriṣṭas tato 'nyām sṛjate punah* | *tena śṛiṣṭvāḥ kṣudhātmanas te 'mbhāṁsy ādātum udyatāḥ* | 30. "Ambhāṁsy etāni rakṣāma" *uktāntaścha teshu ye* | *rākṣhasas te smṛitāḥ loke krodhātmanāo nīśācharāḥ* |

¹⁵⁶ This line is omitted in the Galkowar MS.

¹⁵⁷ The Galkowar MS seems to read *upapūrvābhyaṁ*.

¹⁵⁸ The Galkowar MS reads *Brahmano madhyamām tanum*.

¹⁵⁹ The Galkowar MS reads 'ā' 'ā' 'ā'.

"Sūta says: 1. Then, as he was desiring, there sprang from him mind-born sons, with those effects and causes derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits were produced from the bodies of that wise Being. 3. Then willing to create these four streams (*ambhāmsi*) gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, he fixed his spirit in abstraction. As Svayambhū was thus fixed in abstraction, a body consisting of nothing but darkness (invested him). 4. While desiring this creation, Prajāpati put forth an effort. Then Asuras were first produced as sons from his groin. 5. *Asu* is declared by Brahmans to mean breath. From it these beings were produced, hence they are *Asuras*¹⁴⁰. He cast aside the body with which the Asuras were created. 6. Being cast away by him, that body immediately became night. Inasmuch as darkness predominated in it, night consists of three watches. 7. Hence, being enveloped in darkness, all creatures sleep at night. Beholding the Asuras, however, the Lord of gods took another body, (8) imperceptible, and having a predominance of goodness, which he then fixed in abstraction. While he continued thus to fix it, he experienced pleasure. 9. Then as he was sporting, gods were produced in his mouth. As they were born from him, while he was sporting (*divyatah*), they are known as *Devas* (gods). 10. The root *div* is understood in the sense of sporting. As they were born in a sportive (*divya*)¹⁴¹ body, they are called *Devatās*. 11. Having created the deities, the Lord of gods then took another body, consisting entirely of goodness (*sattva*). 12. Regarding himself as a father, he thought upon these sons: he created Fathers (*Pitris*) from his amplexes in the interval between night and day. 13. Hence these Fathers are gods: therefore that sonship belongs to them. He cast aside the body with which the Fathers were created. 14. Being cast away by him, it straightway became twilight. Hence day belongs to the gods, and night is said to belong to the Asuras. 15. The body intermediate between them, which is that of the Fathers, is the most important. Hence gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men (16) worship intently this intermediate body of Brahmā. He then took again another body. But from that body, composed altogether of passion (*rajas*),

¹⁴⁰ This statement, which is not found in the parallel passage of the Vishṇu Parāṇa, is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2, quoted above.

¹⁴¹ *Divya* properly means "celestial." But from the play of words in the passage, the writer may intend it to have here the sense of "sportive."

which he created by his mind, he formed mind-born¹⁴³ sons who had almost entirely a passionate character. 18 Then from his mind sprang mind-born sons. Beholding again his creatures, he cast away that body of his. 19. Being thrown off by him it straightway became morning twilight. Hence living beings are gladdened by the rise of early twilight. 20. Such were the bodies which, when cast aside by the Great Being, became immediately night and day, twilight and early twilight. 21. Early twilight, twilight, and day have all the character of pure goodness. Night has entirely the character of darkness (*tamas*); and hence it consists of three watches. 22. Hence the gods are beheld with a celestial body, and they were created from the mouth. As they were created during the day, they are strong during that period. 23. Inasmuch as he created the Asuras from his groin at night, they, having been born from his breath, during the night, are unconquerable during that season. 24, 25. Thus these four streams, early twilight, night, day, and twilight, are the causes of gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, in all the Manvantaras that are past, as well as in those that are to come. 26. As these (streams) shine, they are called *ambhāṁsi*. This root *bha* is used by the intelligent in the senses of pervading and shining, and the Male, Prajapati, declares (the fact). 27. Having beheld these streams (*ambhāṁsi*), gods, Dānavas, men, and fathers, he again created various others from himself. 28. Abandoning that entire body, the lord created another, a form consisting almost entirely of passion and darkness, and again fixed it in abstraction. 29. Being possessed with hunger in the darkness, he then created another. The hungry beings formed by him were bent on seizing the streams (*ambhāṁsi*). 30. Those of them, who said 'let us preserve (*rakṣhāma*) these streams,' are known in the world as Rākshasas, wrathful, and prowling about at night."

This description is followed by an account of the further creation corresponding with that given in the same sequence in the Vishṇu Purāṇa; and the rest of the chapter is occupied with other details which it is not necessary that I should notice. I therefore proceed to make some quotations from the eighth chapter, entitled *Chaturāśramavibhāga*, or "the distribution into four orders," which corresponds, in

¹⁴³ *Mānasān*. We might expect here however, *mānavān* or *mānushān*, "human," in conformity with the parallel passages both in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, p. 56), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, xlvii. 11,

its general contents, with the sixth chapter of the Vishnu Purāṇa, book i., but is of far greater length, and, in fact, extremely prolix, as well as confused, full of repetitions, and not always very intelligible.

The chapter immediately preceding (i.e. the seventh), entitled *Pratibandhi-kirttanam*, ends with the words: "I shall now declare to you the present Kalpa; understand." Sūta accordingly proceeds at the opening of the eighth chapter to repeat some verses, which have been already quoted from the beginning of the sixth chapter, descriptive of Brahmā's sleep during the night after the universe had been dissolved, and to recapitulate briefly the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, its reconstruction, and the institution of Yugas. At verse 22 the narrative proceeds:

Kalpasyādaṁ kṛtāyuge prathamam so 'sṛjāt prajāḥ | 23. *Prāḡ uktā yā mayā tubhyam pūrvā-kāle prajāḥ tu tāḥ | tasmān samvṛttamāne tu kalpe dṛgdhās tādā 'gninā* | 24. *Aprāptā yās tapo-lokaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāśritāḥ | pravarttati punaḥ sarge vijarthaṁ tā bhavanti hi* | 25. *Vijārthena sthitās tatra punaḥ sargasya kāraṇāt | tatas tāḥ sṛjyamānās tu santānārtham bhavanti hi* | 26. *Dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣhāṅgāṁ iha tāḥ sādhu-kāḥ smṛitāḥ | devāḥ cha pitaraśchaiva rishayo manasas tathā* | 27. *Tatas te tapasā yuktāḥ sthānāny āpūrayanti hi | Brahmano mānaśas te vai siddhātmanō bhavanti hi* | 28. *Yo sangādiśhu-yuktena karmaṇā te dīvaṁ gatāḥ | āvarttamānā iha te sambhavanti yuge yuge* | 29. *Sva-karma-phala-śeṣeṇa khyātyā chaiva tathātmikā (¹ tathātmakāḥ) | sambhavanti janāl lokāt karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt* | 30. *Āśayāḥ kāraṇaṁ tatra boddhavyaṁ karmaṇā tu sah | taḥ karmabhis tu jūyante janāl lohāt subhāśubhaiḥ* | 31. *Grihṇanti te saṁvṛtāṁ nānā-ūpāṇi yonishu | devādyāḥ sthāvarāntās cha utpadyante purasparam (² paramparam)* | 32. *Teshāṁ ye yāni karmāṇi prāk-sṛjīṣṭau pratipediṣe | tāny eva pratipadyante sṛjyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ* | 33. *Himsrīḥśiṁsre mṛidu-kṛas dharma-dharmo rītānṛite | tadbhūvitāḥ prapadyante tasmāt tat tasya rochate* | 34. *Kalpeshu āsan vyatīteshu rūpa-nāmāni yāni cha | tāny evānūgate kāle prāyaśaḥ pratipediṣe* | 35. *Tasmāt tu nāma-rūpāni tāny eva pratipediṣe | punaḥ punaḥ te kalpeshu jūyante nāma-rūpataḥ* | 36. *Tataḥ sargo hy avasṭabdhḥ sṛṣṭikṣhor Brahmanas tu vai* | 37.¹⁴⁵ *Prajāḥ tā dhyāyatas*

¹⁴⁵ The narrative in the 49th chapter of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (verses 3-13) begins at this verse, the 37th of the Vāyu Purāṇa, and coincides, though with verbal differences, with what follows down to verse 47. After that there is more variation.

tasya satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | mithunānām sahasram tu so 'srijad vai mukhāt tadā | 38. *Janās te hy upapadyants sattvrodriktāḥ suchetasāḥ*¹⁴⁴ | *sahasram anyad vakshasto mithunānām sasarja ha |* 39. *Te sarve rajasodriktāḥ kushminās chāpy asushmināḥ*¹⁴⁵ | *sriṣṭvā sahasram anyat tu dvandvānām ūrutāḥ punaḥ |* 40. *Rajas-tamobhyām udriktā ihāsīlūs tu te smṛitāḥ | padbhyām sahasram anyat tu mithunānām sasarja ha |* 41. *Udriktās tamasā sarve niḥśrīlā hy alpa-trjasāḥ | tato vai haṛṣhamānās te dvandvotpannās tu prāṇināḥ |* 42. *Anyonya-hṛichhayāvīṣṭā maithunōyopachakramuḥ | tataḥprabhṛiti kalpe 'smim maithunotpattir uchyate |* 43. *Mās māsya ūrttaraṁ yat tu na tadā 'sīt tu yoshitām*¹⁴⁶ | *tasmāt tadā na sushuvuḥ sevītair api maithunair |* 44. *Āyusho 'nts prasūyante mithunūy eva tāḥ sakrit | kuṇṭhalāḥ kuṇṭhikāś chaiva utpadyante mumūṣhatām*¹⁴⁷ | 45. *Tataḥ prabhṛiti kalpe 'smim mithunānām hi sambhavaḥ | dhyāne tu manasā tāsām prajānām jāyate sakrit |* 46. *Śabdādi-vishayaḥ buddhaḥ pratyekam pancha-lakṣaṇaḥ | ity evam mānasā*¹⁴⁸ | *pūrṇam prakṛisṭhīr yā Prajāpateḥ |* 47. *Tasyānvavāyo sambhūtā yair idam pūrvāṇāṁ jagat | sarit-sarāḥ-samudrāṁś cha seiante parratān api |* 48. *Tadā nātyanta-śītośhnā yuge tasmim charanti vai | prithivī-rasodbhavaṁ nāma āhāraṁ hy āharanti vai*¹⁴⁹ | 49. *Tāḥ prayāḥ kāma-chārinyo mānasīm siddhim āśhitāḥ | dharmādharmau na tāsū āstām nirvīśeśhāḥ prayās tu tāḥ |* 50. *Tulyam āyuh sukhaṁ rūpaṁ tāsām tasmim kṛite yuge | dharmādharmau na tāsū āstām kalpādaḥ tu kṛite yuge |* 51. *Svena svenādhi-kāreṇa jajñire te kṛite yuge | chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇām divya-sankhyayā |* 52. *Ādyāṇi kṛita-yugam prāhuḥ sandhyānām tu chatuḥśatam | tataḥ sahasraśas tāsa prayāsu prathitāsv api |* 53.¹⁵⁰ *Na tāsām pratighāto 'sti na dvandvaṁ nāpi cha klamaḥ | parvatodadhi-sevinyo hy aniketāśrayās tu tāḥ |* 54. *Vīśolāḥ sattva-bakulāḥ hy ekānta-sukhitāḥ prajāḥ | tāḥ vai nishkāma-chārinyo nityam mudita-mānasāḥ |* 55. *Paśa-*

¹⁴⁴ For *suchetasāḥ* the Mārķ. P. reads *sutejasāḥ*.

¹⁴⁵ For *asushmināḥ* the Mārķ. P. reads *amāśhinaḥ*, "irascible."

¹⁴⁶ I have corrected this line from the Mārķandeya Purāṇa, 49. 9 b. The reading of the MSS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa cannot be correct. It appears to be: *māsa māsa 'rttaraṁ yad yat tat tadā'sīd hi yoshitām* | The negative particle seems to be indispensable here.

¹⁴⁷ This half verse is not found in the Mārķ. P.

¹⁴⁸ The Mārķ. P. has *mānushāḥ*, "human," instead of *mānasāḥ*, "mental."

¹⁴⁹ This verse is not in the Mārķ. P., and after this point the verses which are common to both Purāṇas do not occur in the same places.

¹⁵⁰ Verses 53-56 coincide generally with verses 14-18 of the Mārķ. P.

vaḥ pakṣiṇaś chaiva na tadāsan sarīśripāḥ | nodbhijjā nārakaś¹⁵¹ chaiva
te hy adharma-prasūtaḥ | 56. Na mūla-phala-puṣpaṃ oha nārttavam
ṛitaro na cha | sarva-kāma-sukhaḥ kūlo nātyarthaṃ hy uṣṇa-śītata¹⁵² |
57. Manobhūlaśītāḥ kāmāś tāsām sarvatra sarvadā | uttiṣṭhanti prthiv-
yām vai tābhīr dhyātā rasoleṇāḥ | 58. Balavarṇa-karī tāsām siddhiḥ
sū roga-nāśinī | asaṃskāryyāḥ śarīraiś cha prajāś tūḥ sthīrayauvanāḥ |
59. Tāsām viśuddhāt sankalpāj jāyante mīthunāḥ prajāḥ | samam janma
cha rūpaṃ cha mriyante chaiva tūḥ samam | 60. Tadā satyam alobhāś
cha kṣamā tuṣṭiḥ sukhaṃ damaḥ | nirviśeṣhūś tu tūḥ sarvā rūpāyuk-
śīla-cheshtitāḥ | 61. Abuddhipūrvakaṃ vṛttam prajānām jāyate svayam |
apraritṭhiḥ kṛta-yuge karmaṇoḥ śubhapāpayoḥ | 62. Vai nūśrama-rya-
vasthūś cha na tadā "saṃ na saṃkaraḥ | anichhādvesha-yuktūś te vartta-
yanti parasparam | 63. Tulya-rūpāyushaḥ sarvāḥ adhamottama-varj-
itāḥ¹⁵³ | sukha-prāyā hy aśokāś cha udpadyante kṛte yuge | 64. Nitya-
prakṛiṣṭa-manaso mahāśattvā mahābalāḥ | lābhālābhau na tāśv aśtām
mītrāmītre priyūpriyo | 65. Manasā viśayas tāsām nirīhṇām pravart-
tate | na hīśanti hi tā'nyoyaṃ nānugrihṇanti chaiva hi | 66. Dhyānam
paraṃ kṛta-yuge tretāyām jñānam uchyate | prarṛitāṃ dvāpare yajnaṃ
dānam kālī-yuge varam | 67. Sattvaṃ kṛtaṃ rajas tretā dvāparaṃ tu
rajas-tamaḥ | kulaḥ tamaś tu vijñeyam yuga-vṛtta-vaśena tu | 68. Kūlaḥ
kṛte yuge tv eśha tasya saṅkhyāṃ nibodhata | chatvāri tu sahasraṇi var-
śhāṇāṃ tat kṛtaṃ yugam | 69. Sandhyāṃśau tasya divyāni śatāny
aśṭau cha saṅkhyayā | tadā tāsām babhūvāyur na cha kleśa-vipat-
tayāḥ¹⁵⁴ | 70. Tataḥ kṛtayuge tasmin sandhyāṃśo hi gate tu vai | pādā-
vaśiṣṭho bhavati yuga-dharmas tu sarvaśaḥ | 71. Sandhyāyām apy atitā-
yām anta-kāle yugasya vai | pādāśaś ohāśaśiṣṭe tu sandhyā-dharmo
yugasya tu | 72. Evaṃ kṛte tu niṣeśhe siddhiś tv antardadho tadā |
tasyām cha siddhau bhrāśhṭāyām mānasyām abhavat tataḥ | 73. Siddhir

¹⁵¹ The Mürk. P. has *nakrūḥ*, "crocodiles," in its enumeration.

¹⁵² The Mürk. P. here inserts some other lines, 186-21a, instead of 57 and 58a of the Vāyu P.

¹⁵³ The Mürk. P. inserts here the following verses: 24. *Chatvāri tu sahasraṇi varśhāṇāṃ mānushāṇi tu | āyuk-pramāṇāṃ jīvanti na cha kleśād vipattīyāḥ | 25. Kvachit kvachit punaḥ sū bhūt kṣutir bhāgyena sarvaśaḥ | kūlena gaḥhatū nūśam upayānti yathā prajāḥ | 26. Tathā tūḥ kramaśaḥ nūśām jagmuḥ sarvatra siddhayaḥ | tāśv sarvāśv naśhṭāśv nabhaśaḥ prachyutā narāḥ (latāḥ in one MS.) | prāyāśaḥ kalpa-*

¹⁵⁴ Instead of *babhūvāyuk*, etc., the Gaikower MS. has *prayuktāni na cha kleśo babhūva ha |*

anyā yugo tasmāns tretāyām antare kritā | sargādaṁ yā mayā 'śhṭau tu mānasyo vai prakīrtitāḥ | 74. Aśhṭau tāḥ krama-yogena siddhayo yānti sankshayaṁ | kalpādaṁ mānāsi hy elā siddhir bhavati sā kṛte | 75. Manvantareṣhu sarveṣhu chatur-yuga-vibhāgaśaḥ | varṇāśramāchāra-kṛitāḥ karma-siddhodbhavaḥ (karma-siddhyudbhavaḥ?) smṛitāḥ | 76. Sandhyā kṛitasya pādena sandhyā pādena chāmśataḥ | kṛita-sandhyāmśakā hy ete trīṁs trīn pādān parasparam | 77. Hrasanti yuga-dharmas te tapaḥ-bruta-balāyushaḥ | tataḥ kṛitāmśe kṣhīṇe tu babhūva tad-anantaram | 78. Tretā-yugam amanyanta kṛitāmśam rishi-sattamāḥ | tasmīn kṣhīṇe kṛitāmśe tu tach-chhīṣhṭāu prajāṁ iha | 79. Kalpādaṁ sampravṛittāyās tretāyāḥ pramukhe tadā | praṇāsyati tadā siddhir kāla-yogena nānyathā | 80. Tasyām siddhau praṇaśhṭāyām anyā siddhir avaritā | apām saukshmye pratigata tadā meghātmanā tu vai | 81. Meghebhyaḥ stanayitubhyaḥ pravṛittāṁ īrīṣhṭi-sarjjanam | sakṛd eva tayā īrīṣhṭyā saṁyukto pṛithivī-tale | 82. Prādūrāsāns tadā tāsām īrīkshās tu grīha-saṁsthītāḥ¹⁵⁵ | sarva-pratyupabhogas tu tāsām tebhyaḥ prajāyate | 83. Varttayanti hi tebhyaḥ tās tretā-yuga-mukhe prajāḥ | tataḥ kālēna mahatā tāsām eva viparyayāt | 84. Rūgalobhātmaḥ dhātvas tadā hy ākasmiko 'bhavat | yat tad bhavati nārīṇāṁ jīvitānte tad ārtavam | 85. Tadā tad vai na bhavati punar yuga-baleṇa tu | tāsām punaḥ pravṛitte tu māse māse tad ārtavam (-ve?) | 86. Tatas tenaiva yogena varittatām maritūns tadā | tāsām tāt-kāla-bhāritāḥ māsī māsya upayachhatām | 87. Akāle hy ārtavotpattir garbhotpattir ajāyata | viparyayena tāsām tu tena kālēna bhāvinā | 88. Praṇāsyanti tataḥ sarve īrīkshās te grīhasaṁsthītāḥ | tatas teshu praṇaśhṭeṣhu vibhṛantā vyākulendriyāḥ | 89. Abhidhyāyanti tām siddhim satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | prādurbabhūvus tāsām tu īrīkshās te grīhasaṁsthītāḥ | 90.¹⁵⁶ Fastrāṇi cha prasūyante phaleṣhu abharaṇāṇi cha | teshu eva jāyate tāsām gandha-varṇa-rasānvitam | 91. Amāksikam mahāvīryam puṭako puṭako madhu | tena tā varttayanti sma mukhe tretā-yugasya vai | 92. Hṛīṣhṭa-tuṣhṭās tayā siddhyā prajā vai vigata-jvarāḥ | punaḥ kālāntareṇaiva punar lobhāvrītās tu tāḥ | 93. Vīrīkshāṁs tān paryagṛīhṇanta madhu chāmāksikam balāt | tāsām tenāpachāreṇa punar lobha-kṛitena vai | 94. Pranāśhṭā madhunā sārḍham kalpa-vīrīkshāḥ kva-

¹⁵⁵ Verses 27-35 of the Märk. P. correspond more or less to this and the following verses down to 98.

¹⁵⁶ This and the following verses correspond more or less closely to the Märk. P. 30 ff

chit krachit | tanyām evālpā-sīṣṭāyām sandhyā-kāla-vaśāt tadā | 95.
varttatām tu tadā tāsām dvandvāny abhyutthitāni tu | śītavātātapaḥ
tīraḥ tatas tāḥ duḥkṛitā bhṛīṣam | 96. Dvandvaḥ tāḥ pīḍyamānās tu
chakrur āvaraṇāni cha | kṛtvā dvandva-pratikāram nikēlāni hi bhejire |
97. Pūrvaṁ nikāma-chārās te anikēlāśāyā bhṛīṣam | yathā-yogyāṁ
yathā-prīti nikēteshu arasan punaḥ | 98. Maru-dhanvasu nimneshu par-
raleshu darīṣhu cha¹⁵⁷ | saṁśrayanti cha durgāni dhanvānam śāśvatoda-
kam | 99. Yathā-yogāṁ yathā-kāmaṁ samoshu vishameshu cha | ārabdhās
te nikēlā vai karttuṁ śītoshna-pāraṇam | 100. Tatas tā mōpayāmāsuḥ
khetāni cha purāṇi cha | grāmāṁś chaiva yathā-bhāgaṁ tathavāntaḥ-
purāṇi cha | . . . 123¹⁵⁸ Kṛiteshu teshu śhāneshu punaḥ chakrur gri-
hāni cha | yathā cha pūrvam āsan vai vṛikshās tu grīha-saṁsthitāḥ |
124. Tathā karttuṁ samārabdhās chintayitvā punaḥ punaḥ | vṛiddhās
chaśa gatāḥ sākhā natāś chaivāparā gatāḥ | 125. Ata ūrdhvam gatāś
chānyā enam tiryaggatāḥ parāḥ | buddhyā 'nvishya tathā 'nyā yā vṛik-
sha-sākhā yathā gatāḥ | 126. Tathā kṛitās tu taiḥ sākhās tasmāch
chhūlās tu tūḥ smritāḥ | evam prasiddhāḥ sākhābhyaḥ sūlās chaiva
grīhāni cha | 127. Tasmāt tā vai smritāḥ sūlāḥ sūlātvaṁ chaiva
tāsu tat | prasīdati manas tāsu manah prāsūdayamś cha tāḥ | 128.
Tasmād grīhāni sūlās cha prāsūdās chaiva saṁnitāḥ | kṛtvā dvan-
diopaghātāṁś tān vārttopāyam arhintayan | 129.¹⁵⁹ Nashīteshu ma-
dhubā sārddhaṁ kalpa-vṛiksheshu vai tadā | vishūda-vyākūlās tā vai
prajāś trishṇā-kṣudhānitāḥ | 130. Tataḥ prādurbabhūu tāsām sū-
dhāś tretā-yuge punaḥ | vārttārtha-sūdhikā hy anyā vṛīṣṭis tāsām hi
kāmataḥ | 131. Tāsām vṛīṣṭy-udakāniha yāni nimnair gatāni tu |
vṛīṣṭyā nimnā(?) nīabhavan vrotah-khātāni nimnugāḥ | 132. Evaṁ
nadyaḥ pravṛittās tu dvītiye vṛīṣṭi-sarjane | ye purastād apām stokū
āpannāḥ prithivītale | 133. Apām bhūmeś cha saṁyogād ośadhyaś tāsu
chūbhayan | pushpa-mūlaphaknyas tv ośadhyaś tāḥ prajānīre | 134.
Aphāla-kṛīṣṭās chānuptā grāmyāranyaś chaturdaśa | ritu-pushpa-pha-
lāśchava vṛīkshāḥ gulmāś cha jānīre | 135. Prādurbhavaś cha tretāyām
ādya 'yam aushadhasya tu | tenaushadhona varttante prajāś tretāyuge
tadā | 136. Tataḥ punar abhūt tāsām rūgo lobhāś cha sarvaśaḥ | avāśyam-

¹⁵⁷ I have corrected this line from Märk. P. xlix. 35.

¹⁵⁸ Verses 52-54 of the Märk. P. correspond in substance to verses 123-128 of the Vāyu P.

¹⁵⁹ Verses 55-62 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 129-137 of the Vāyu P.

bhāvinā 'rithena tretā-yuga-vaśena tu | 137. *Tatas tāh paryagrihṇanta nadīh kshetrāni parvatān* | *vrīkshān gulmaushadhīś chaiva prasahya tu yathā-balam* | 138. *Siddhātmanās tu ye pūriam vyākhyātāh prakṛite mayā* | *Brahmaṇo mānasās te vai utpannā ye janād iha* | 139. *Sāntās cha śukhminās chaiva karmīno duḥkṣinas tadā* | *tatah pravarttamānās te tretāyām jayire punah* | 140. *Brāhmaṇāh kshattriyā vaiśyāh śūdrā drohiyanās tathā* | *bhāvitāh pūrva-jātīśhu karmabhis cha śubhāśubhaḥ!* | 141. *Itas tebhyo 'balā ye tu śatyāśilā hy ahiṃsakāh* | *vīta-lobhā jātāmāno nivasanti sma teshu vai* | 142. *Pratigrihṇanti kurvanti tebhyas chānyo 'lpa-trjasaḥ* | *evam vipratipanneshu prapanneshu parasparam* | 143. *Tena dosheṇa teshām tā ośadhyo mishatām tadā*¹⁰⁰ | *pranashitā hrīyamānā vai nuśṣṭebhyām śilatā yathā* | 144¹⁰¹ *Agrasā bhūr yuga-balād grāmyāranyās chaturdaśa* | *phalam grihṇanti pushpāścha phalāś patraś punah punah* | 145.¹⁰² *Tatas tānu pranashitāsu vībhraṇtās tāh prajās tadā* | *Śayambhuvam prabhuṃ jagmuḥ kshudhāvīṣṭāh prajāpatim* | 146. *ṛitty-artham abhāḥsantāh ādau tretā-yugasya tu* | *Brahmā Śvayambhūr bhagavān jātṛvā tāsām manishitam* | 147. *Yuktam pratyaksha-dṛṣhtena darśanena vicāryya cha* | *grastāh pṛithivīyā ośadhyo jātṛvā pratyadūhat punah* | 148. *Kṛtvā vatsān sumerum tu dudoha pṛithivīm imām* | *dugdheyaṃ gauś tadā tena vijāni pṛithivī-tale* | 149. *Jayire tāni vijāni grāmyāranyās tu tāh punah* | *ośadhyah phala-pākāntāh saṇa-saptadaśās tu tāh* | . . . 155. *Utpannōh prathamān hy etā ādau tretā-yugasya tu* | 156. *Aphāla-kriśhṭā ośadhyo grāmyāranyās tu sarvaśah* | *vrīkshā gulmalatā-vallyo virudhas triṇa-jātayaḥ* | 157. *Mūlāś phalāś cha rohiṇyo 'grihṇan pushpāś cha yāh phalam* | *pṛithvī dugdhā tu vijāni yāni pūrvaṃ Śayambhuvā* | 158. *Ritu-pushpa-phalās tā vai ośadhyo jayire va iha* |¹⁰³ *yadā prasṣiṣṭā ośadyo na prarohanti tāh punah* | 159. *Tatah sa tāsām ṛitty-artham vārttopāyaṃ chakāra ha* | *Brahmā Śvayambhūr bhagavān hasta-siddhām tu karma-jam* | 160. *Tatah-prabhṛity athauśadhyah kriśhṭa-pachyās tā jayire* | *saṃsiddhāyām tu vārttāyām talas tāsām Śvayambhuvaḥ* | 161. *Maryādāh sthāpayāmāsa yathārabbdhāh parasparam* |¹⁰⁴ *ye vai parigrīhītāras tāsām āsan badhātmaḥ* | 162. *Itareśhām kṛita-trāṇān sthāpayāmāsa kshattriyān* | *upatiśṭhanti ye tān*

¹⁰⁰ Märk. P. verse 63a.

¹⁰¹ Märk. P. verse 68b.

¹⁰² Verses 64-67 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 145-149 of the Vāyu P.

¹⁰³ Verses 73-75 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 158b-160a of the Vāyu P.

¹⁰⁴ This with all what follows down to verse 171 is 0. 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th 9th 10th 11th 12th 13th 14th 15th 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th 21st 22nd 23rd 24th 25th 26th 27th 28th 29th 30th 31st 32nd 33rd 34th 35th 36th 37th 38th 39th 40th 41st 42nd 43rd 44th 45th 46th 47th 48th 49th 50th 51st 52nd 53rd 54th 55th 56th 57th 58th 59th 60th 61st 62nd 63rd 64th 65th 66th 67th 68th 69th 70th 71st 72nd 73rd 74th 75th 76th 77th 78th 79th 80th 81st 82nd 83rd 84th 85th 86th 87th 88th 89th 90th 91st 92nd 93rd 94th 95th 96th 97th 98th 99th 100th 101st 102nd 103rd 104th 105th 106th 107th 108th 109th 110th 111st 112nd 113rd 114th 115th 116th 117th 118th 119th 120th 121st 122nd 123rd 124th 125th 126th 127th 128th 129th 130th 131st 132nd 133rd 134th 135th 136th 137th 138th 139th 140th 141st 142nd 143rd 144th 145th 146th 147th 148th 149th 150th 151st 152nd 153rd 154th 155th 156th 157th 158th 159th 160th 161st 162nd 163rd 164th 165th 166th 167th 168th 169th 170th 171st 172nd 173rd 174th 175th 176th 177th 178th 179th 180th 181st 182nd 183rd 184th 185th 186th 187th 188th 189th 190th 191st 192nd 193rd 194th 195th 196th 197th 198th 199th 200th 201st 202nd 203rd 204th 205th 206th 207th 208th 209th 210th 211st 212nd 213rd 214th 215th 216th 217th 218th 219th 220th 221st 222nd 223rd 224th 225th 226th 227th 228th 229th 230th 231st 232nd 233rd 234th 235th 236th 237th 238th 239th 240th 241st 242nd 243rd 244th 245th 246th 247th 248th 249th 250th 251st 252nd 253rd 254th 255th 256th 257th 258th 259th 260th 261st 262nd 263rd 264th 265th 266th 267th 268th 269th 270th 271st 272nd 273rd 274th 275th 276th 277th 278th 279th 280th 281st 282nd 283rd 284th 285th 286th 287th 288th 289th 290th 291st 292nd 293rd 294th 295th 296th 297th 298th 299th 300th 301st 302nd 303rd 304th 305th 306th 307th 308th 309th 310th 311st 312nd 313rd 314th 315th 316th 317th 318th 319th 320th 321st 322nd 323rd 324th 325th 326th 327th 328th 329th 330th 331st 332nd 333rd 334th 335th 336th 337th 338th 339th 340th 341st 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vai yāvanto nīrōhayaś tathā | 163. *Satyam brahma yathā bhūtam bru-*
vanto brāhmaṇas tu te | *ye chānye 'py abalās teshām vaiśaṣaṁ karma*
saṁsthitāḥ | 164. *Kīṇāśā nāśayanti sma prithiryām prāg atandritāḥ* |
vaiśyān eva tu tān āhuḥ kīṇāśān ṛṣṭi-sādhakān | 165. *Śochantaś cha*
dravantaś cha paricharyyāsu ye ratāḥ | *nistejaso 'ṣpa-īrīryās cha śūdrān*
tān abravīt tu saḥ | 166. *Teshām karmāṇi dharmāṁś cha Brahmā 'nu-*
vyadadhāt prabhuh | *saṁsthitau prakritāyām tu chāturvarṇyasya sar-*
vasaḥ | 167. *Punaḥ prajāś tu tā mohāt tān dharmān nānvapūlayan* |
varṇa-dharmair aṅirantyo vyarudhyanta parasparam | 168. *Brahmā tam*
artham buddhī tu yāthātathyena vai prabhuh | *kṣhattryiṇām balaṁ*
dandam yuddham ājīram ādisat | 169. *Yājanādhyayanam chaiva tritī-*
yaṁ cha parigraham | *brāhmaṇānām vibhus teshām karmāṇy etāny athā-*
disat | 170. *Pāśupālyam vājīryam cha kṛṣiṁ chaiva viśām dadau* |
śilpājīram bhṛitīṁ chana śūdrānām vyadadhāt prabhuh | 171. *Sāmā-*
nyāni tu karmāṇi brahma-kṣhattra-viśām punaḥ | *yājanādhyayanam dānam*
sāmānyāni tu tesku vai | 172. *Karmājīram tato datrā tebhyas chaiva*
parasparam | *lokāntareṣu sthānāni teshām siddhyāy*¹⁶⁵ *adāt prabhuh* |
*173.*¹⁶⁶ *Prājāpatyaṁ brāhmaṇānām smṛitāṁ sthānāṁ kṛiyāratām* | *sthā-*
naṁ aindram kṣhattryiṇām sangrāmeṣu apalāyinaṁ | 174. *Vaiśyānām*
mārutaṁ sthānāṁ eva-dharmam upajīvinām | *gāndhārvaṁ śūdra-jātīnām*
pratiçhāreṇa (parichāreṇa ?) tiṣṭhatām | 175. *Sthānāny etāni varṇānām*
vyaryāchāraṇatām svayam | *tataḥ sthiteṣu varṇeṣu sthāpayāmāsa chāśra-*
mān | 176. *Grihasṭham brahmachārītaṁ vanaprastham sabhikṣhukam* |
āśramāṁś chāturo hy etān pūriam asthāpayat prabhuh | 177. *Varṇa-kar-*
māni ye lehit teshām iha na kurīte | *kṛita-karmakṣitih(?) prāhur āśra-*
ma-sthāna-vāsināḥ | 178. *Brahmā tān sthāpūyāmāsa ūśāman nāma nā-*
mataḥ | *nṛdīśārthaṁ tatas teshām Brahmā dharmān prābhāṣkata* | 179.
Prasthānāni cha teshām vai yamūṁścha niyamūṁś cha ha | *chāturvarṇyāt-*
makaḥ pūrvaṁ grihasṭhas tv āśraṁś smṛitāḥ | 180. *Trāyāṇām āśra-*
māṇām cha pratishṭhā yonir eva cha | *yathākramam pravakṣhyāmi yamāś*
cha niyamāś cha taiḥ | . . . 190. *Fedāḥ sāngās cha yajñas cha vra-*
tāni niyamāś cha ye | 191. *Na siddhyanti prādushṭasya bhāvadoshe upā-*
gate | *bahih-karmāṇi sarvāni prasiddhyanti (na siddhyanti ?) kadāchana* |

¹⁶⁵ I conjecture *siddhyāy adāt* to be the proper reading. The MSS. have *siddhyā-*
dadāt, or siddhyūdāt, etc.

¹⁶⁶ Verses 173 f. are found in the Mürk. P. verses 77 f., but all that follows down
 to v. 193 is . . .

192. *Antar-bhāva-pradushṭasya kūrīto 'hi parākramāt | sarvasam apī
yo dadyāt kaluṣheṇāntarātmanā |* 193. *Nu tena dharma-bhāk sa syād
bhāva eva hi kūrāṇam | . . .* 199. *Evaṁ varṇāśramāṇām vai prati-
bhāge krite tadā |* 200. *Yadā 'sya na vyavardhanta prajā varṇāśramat-
mikāḥ | tato 'nyā mānasīḥ so 'tha tretā-madhye 'srijat prajāḥ |* 201. *Āt-
manas tūḥ śarīrāccha tulyās chauātmanā tu vai | tasmīn tretā-yuge
prāpte madhyam prāpte kramēṇa tu |* 202. *Tato 'nyā manasīḥ tatra pra-
ajāḥ srashtum prachakrame | tataḥ satva-rajodriktāḥ prajāḥ so 'thāsrijat
prabhūḥ |* 203. *Dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣhāṇām vārttāyās chava sādhi-
kāḥ | devās cha pitaras chaiva rishayo manavaḥ tathā |* 204. *Yugānu-
rūpā dharmēṇa yair imā vichitāḥ prajāḥ | upasthite tadā tasmīn prajā-
dharme (-sarge?) Svayambhūtaḥ |* 205. *Abhidadhyau prajāḥ sarvā nānā-
rūpās tu mānasīḥ | pūrvoktā yā mayā tubhyaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāsritāḥ |*
206. *Kalpe 'tite tu tā hy āsan devādyaḥ tu prajā iha | dhyāyatas tasya jñāḥ
sarvāḥ sambhūty aṭham upasthitāḥ |* 207. *Manvantara-kramēṇa ka-
niskthe prathamē matāḥ | khyātyā 'nubandhas tair tair tu 'sarvārthair
iha bhāvitāḥ |* 208. *Kuśālakuśala-prāyair karmabhis tair sadā prajāḥ |
tat-karma-phala-śeṣheṇa upasthitāḥ prajānīre |* 209. *Devāsura-pitri-
tair tu puṣu-pakṣi-sarīripair | vrikha-nāṇa-kīṭatir tair tair bhā-
vair upasthitāḥ | ādhnātum prajānām cha ātmanā vai vimrṣame |*

"22. At the beginning of the Kalpa, in the first Krita age, he created those living beings (23) which I have formerly described to thee; but in the olden time, at the close of the Kalpa, those creatures were burnt up by fire. 24 Those of them who did not reach the Tapoloka took refuge in the Janaloka; and when the creation again commences, they form its seed. 25. Existing there as a seed for the sake of another creation, they then, as they are created, are produced with a view to progeny. 26. These are declared to accomplish, in the present state (the four ends of human life, viz.), duty, the acquisition of wealth, the gratification of love, and the attainment of final liberation,—both gods, Fathers, Rishis, and Manus. 27. They, then, filled with austere fervour, replenish (all) places. These are the mental sons of Brahmā, perfect in their nature. 28. Those who ascended to the sky by works characterized by devotion to external objects, but not by hatred, return to this world and are born in every age. 29. As the result of their works, and of their destination, (returning) from the Janaloka, they are born of the same character (as

before), in consequence of the (previous) deeds by which they are bound.¹⁵⁷ 30. It is to be understood that the cause of this is their tendency (or fate), which itself is the result of works. In consequence of these works, good or bad, they return from Janaloka and are born, (31) and receive various bodies in (different) wombs. They are produced again and again in all states, from that of gods to that of motionless substances. 32. These creatures, as they are born time after time, receive the same functions as they had obtained in each previous creation. 33. Destructiveness and undestructiveness, mildness and cruelty, righteousness and unrighteousness, truth and falsehood—actuated by such dispositions as these, they obtain (their several conditions); and hence particular actions are agreeable to particular creatures. 34. And in succeeding periods they for the most part obtain the forms and the names which they had in the past Kalpas. 35. Hence they obtain the same names and forms. In the different Kalpas they are born with the same name and form. 36. Afterwards, when the creation had been suspended, as Brahmā was desirous to create, (37) and, fixed in his design, was meditating upon offspring,—he created from his mouth a thousand couples of living beings, (38) who were born with an abundance of goodness (*sattra*) and full of intelligence.¹⁵⁸ He then created another thousand couples from his breast: (39) they all abounded in passion (*rajas*) and were both vigorous and destitute of vigour.¹⁵⁹ After creating from his thighs another thousand pairs, (40) in whom both passion and darkness (*tanias*) prevailed, and who are described as active,—he formed from his feet yet another thousand couples (41) who were all full of darkness, inglorious, and of little vigour. Then the creatures sprung from the couples (or thus produced in couples) rejoicing, (42) and filled with mutual love, began to cohabit. From that period sexual intercourse is said to have arisen in this Kalpa. 43. But at that time women had no monthly discharge: and they consequently bore no children, although cohabit-

¹⁵⁷ *Karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt*. I am unable to state the sense of *saṁśaya* in this compound.

¹⁵⁸ *Suchetasah*. The reading of the Mār. P. *sutejasah*, "full of vigour," is recommended, as an epithet of the Brāhmins, by its being in opposition to *alpa-tejasah*, "of little vigour," which is applied to the Śūdras a few lines below.

¹⁵⁹ The reading of the Mār. P. *amarśinah*, "irascible," gives a better sense than *asushmīnah*, "devoid of vigour," which the Vāyu P. has.

ation was practised. 44. At the end of their lives they once bore twins. Weak-minded boys and girls were produced when (their parents) were on the point of death. 45. From that period commenced, in this Kalpa, the birth of twins; and such offspring was once only born to these creatures by a mental effort, in meditation (46),—(offspring which was) receptive (?) of sound and the other objects of sense, pure, and in every case distinguished by five marks. Such was formerly the early mental creation of Prajapāti. 47. Those creatures by whom the world was replenished, born as the descendants of this stock, frequented rivers, lakes, seas, and mountains. 48. In that age (*yuga*) they lived unaffected by excessive cold or heat, and appropriated the food which was produced from the essences of the earth. 49. They acted according to their pleasure, existing in a state of mental perfection. They were characterized neither by righteousness nor unrighteousness; were marked by no distinctions. 50. In that Kṛita yuga, in the beginning of the Kalpa, their age, happiness, and form were alike: they were neither righteous nor unrighteous. 51. In the Kṛita age they were produced each with authority over himself. Four thousand years, according to the calculation of the gods, (52) and four hundred years for each of the morning and evening twilight, are said to form the first, or Kṛita, age.¹⁷⁰ Then, although these creatures were multiplied by thousands, (53) they suffered no impediment, no susceptibility to the pairs of opposites (pleasure and pain, cold and heat, etc.) and no fatigue. They frequented mountains and seas, and did not dwell in houses. 54. They never sorrowed, were full of goodness (*sattva*), and supremely happy; acted from no impulse of desire,¹⁷¹ and lived in continual delight. 55. There were at that time no beasts, birds, reptiles, or plants,¹⁷² (for these things are produced by unrighteousness),¹⁷³ (56) no roots, fruits,

¹⁷⁰ The first of the verses, which will be quoted below, in a note on verse 63, from the Mārkaṇḍeya P., seems to be more in place than the description of the Kṛita age given here, of which the substance is repeated in verses 68 and 69.

¹⁷¹ Perhaps we should read here *niskāma-chāritṛiṇyo* instead of *niskāma-* if so, the sense will be, "they moved about at will."

¹⁷² The text adds here *nārakāḥ* or *narakāḥ*, which may mean "hellish creatures."

¹⁷³ This, although agreeing with what is said further on in verses 82, 133, and 155, does not seem in consonance with what is stated in the Vishnu Purāṇa, verse 45, where it is declared *oshadhyah phala-mūlīnyo romabhyas tasya jayante | tretā-yuga-mukhe Brahmā kalpasyādanu dvijaitama | sruṣṭvā pasu-oshadhik samyag yuyogo sa tadā dhare |* "Plants bearing roots and fruits sprang from his hairs. At the com-

flowers, productions of the seasons, nor seasons. The time brought with it every object of desire and every enjoyment. There was no excess of heat or cold. 57. The things which these people desired sprang up from the earth everywhere and always, when thought of, and had a powerful relish. 58. That perfection of theirs both produced strength and beauty, and annihilated disease. With bodies, which needed no decoration, they enjoyed perpetual youth. 59. From their pure will alone twin children were produced. Their form was the same. They were born and died together. 60. Then truth, contentment, patience, satisfaction, happiness, and self-command prevailed. They were all without distinction in respect of form, term of life, disposition and actions. 61. The means of subsistence were produced spontaneously without forethought on their parts. In the Kṛita age they engaged in no works which were either virtuous or sinful. 62. And there were then no distinctions of castes or orders, and no mixture of castes. Men acted towards each other without any feeling of love or hatred. 63. In the Kṛita age they were born alike in form and duration of life, without any distinction of lower and higher,¹⁷⁴ with abundant happiness, free from grief, (64) with hearts continually exulting, great in dignity

commencement of the Tretā age Brahmā—having at the beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants—employed them in sacrifice.” Although the order of the words renders the sense in some degree uncertain, it appears to be that which Prof. Wilson assigns in his translation (i. 81), “Brahmā, having created, in the commencement of the Kalpa, various [animals and] plants, employed them in sacrifices in the beginning of the Tretā age.” This interpretation is supported by the Commentator, who remarks *Tad evaṁ kalpasyaūdvē eva jasn̄m ośadhīṣ̄ cha vrikṣkṣv̄ nantarāṁ tretā-yuga-mukhe prūṣṭe satī samyag grāmyāṅṛanya-vyasthūyā tadū 'dhvare śānatayā (samyaktayā?) yuyoga kṛita-yuge gopnasyūprairiṣṭe* | “Having then thus at the very beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants, he afterwards, when the commencement of the Tretā age arrived, employed them properly, according to the distinction of domestic and wild, in sacrifice,—since sacrifice did not prevail in the Kṛita age.” This agrees with the course of the preceding narrative which makes no allusion to plants and animals having been produced in a different Yuga from the other beings whose creation had been previously described. (See Wilson i. 82-84.) The parallel passage in the Vāyu P. i. 44-46, is confused.

¹⁷⁴ The Mārka. P. xlix. 24 inserts here the following lines: “They lived for four thousand years of mortals, as the measure of their existence, and suffered no calamities from distress. 25. In some places the earth again enjoyed prosperity in every respect. As through lapse of time the creatures were destroyed, so too those perfections everywhere gradually perished. 26. When they had all been destroyed, creeping-plants fell from the sky, which had nearly the character of Kalpa-trees (i.e. trees which yield all that is desired), and resembled houses.”

and in force. There existed among them no such things as gain or loss, friendship or enmity, liking or dislike. 65. It was through the mind (alone, *i.e.* without passion?) that these disinterested beings acted towards each other. They neither desired anything from one another; nor shewed any kindness to each other.¹⁷⁵ Contemplation is declared to be supreme in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā; sacrifice began in the Dvāpara; liberality is the highest merit in the Kali. 67. The Kṛita age is goodness (*sattva*), the Tretā is passion (*rajas*), the Dvāpara is passion and darkness (*tamas*), in the Kali it is to be understood that darkness (prevails), according to the necessary course of these ages. 68. The following is the time in the Kṛita age: understand its amount. Four thousand years constitute the Kṛita; (69) and its twilights endure for eight hundred divine years. Then their life was (so long?)¹⁷⁶ and no distresses or calamities befel them. 70. Afterwards, when the twilight in the Kṛita was gone, the righteousness peculiar to that age was in all respects reduced to a quarter (of its original sum). 71. When further the twilight had passed, at the close of the Yuga, and the righteousness peculiar to the twilight had been reduced to a quarter, (72) and when the Kṛita had thus come altogether to an end, — then perfection vanished. When this mental perfection had been destroyed, there arose (73) another perfection formed in the period of the Tretā age. The eight mental perfections, which I declared (to have existed) at the creation, (74) were gradually extinguished. At the beginning of the Kalpa mental perfection alone (existed), viz., that which existed in the Kṛita age. 75. In all the Manvantaras there is declared to arise a perfection proceeding from works, produced by the discharge of the duties belonging to castes and orders, according to the fourfold division of Yugas. 76 The (morning) twilight (deteriorates) by a quarter of the (entire) Kṛita, — and the evening twilight by (another) quarter; — (thus) the Kṛita, the morning twilight, and the evening

¹⁷⁵ This representation of the condition of mankind during the Kṛita age, the period of ideal goodness, was no doubt sketched in conformity with the opinions which prevailed at the period when the Purāṇa was compiled, when dispassion was regarded as the highest state of perfection.

¹⁷⁶ It would seem as if the writer here meant to state that the period of life was that which in the verso of the Mārk. P. (xlix 24), quoted in the note on verse 63, it is declared to have been. But the expression here is, from some cause or other, -

twilight (together) deteriorate successively to the extent of three quarters, in the duties peculiar to the Yuga, and in austere fervour, sacred knowledge, strength, and length of life.¹⁷⁷ Then after the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (78) the Tretā age succeeded,—(which) the most excellent rishis regarded as the evening of the Kṛita. But when the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (79) from the influence of time, and for no other reason, perfection disappeared from among the creatures who survived at the commencement of the Tretā age which ensued at the beginning of the Kalpa. 80. When that perfection had perished, another perfection arose. The subtilo form of water having returned in the form of cloud (to the sky),¹⁷⁸ (81) rain began to be discharged from the thundering clouds. The earth having once received that rain, (82) trees resembling houses¹⁷⁹ were provided for these creatures. From them all means of enjoyment were produced. 83. Men derived their subsistence from them at the beginning of the Tretā. Subsequently, after a great length of time, owing to their ill fortune, (84) the passions of desire and covetousness arose in their hearts uncaused. The monthly discharge, which occurred at the end of women's lives, (85) did not then take place: but as it commenced again, owing to the force of the age (*yuga*), (86) and as the couples, in consequence of it, began to cohabit, and approached each other monthly, from necessity occasioned by the time,—(87) an unseasonable^{179a} production of the monthly discharge, and of pregnancy ensued. Then through their misfortune, and owing to that fated time, (88) all those house-like trees perished. When these had been destroyed, men disturbed and agitated, (89) but genuine in their desire, longed after that perfection (which they had lost). Then those house-like trees appeared to them; (90) and among their fruits yielded clothes and jewels. On these trees too, in the hollow of every leaf, there was produced, (91) without the aid of bees, honey of great potency, having scent, colour, and flavour. By this means they subsisted at the beginning of the Tretā, (92) delighted with this per-

¹⁷⁷ Such is the only sense I can extract from these rather obscure lines.

¹⁷⁸ Such is the only sense of the words here rendered which occurs to me.

¹⁷⁹ *Gṛha-saṁsthītāh*. Professor Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives "like, resembling," among the meanings of *saṁsthita*.

^{179a} Instead of *ākāle*, "out of season," Professor Aufrecht suggests *ākāle*, "in season," as the proper reading.

fection and free from trouble. Again, through the lapse of time, becoming greedy, (93) they seized by force those trees, and that honey produced without bees. And then, owing to that misconduct of theirs, occasioned by cupidity, (94) the Kalpa trees, together with their honey, were in some places destroyed. As but little of it¹⁸⁰ remained, owing to the effects of the period of twilight, (95) the pairs (of opposites, as pleasure and pain, etc.) arose in men when existing (in this state); and they became greatly distressed by sharp cold winds, and heats. 96. Being thus afflicted by these opposites, they adopted means of shelter: and to counteract the opposites they resorted to houses. 97. Formerly they had moved about at their will, and had not dwelt at all in houses: but subsequently they abode in dwellings, as they found suitable and pleasant, (98) in barren deserts, in valleys, on mountains, in caves; and took refuge in fortresses,—(in a) desert with perpetual water.¹⁸¹ 99. As a protection against cold and heat they began to construct houses on even and uneven places, according to opportunity and at their pleasure. 100. They then measured out towns, cities, villages, and private apartments, according to the distribution of each.” [The following verses 101–107 give an account of the different measures of length and breadth, which is followed, in verses 108–122, by a description of the various kinds of fortresses, towns, and villages, their shapes and sizes, and of roads. The author then proceeds in verse 123:] “These places having been made, they next constructed houses; and as formerly trees existed, formed like houses,¹⁸² (124) so did they (now) begin to erect them, after repeated consideration. (Some) boughs are spread out, others are bent down, (125) others rise upwards, while others again stretch horizontally. After examining thus by reflection how the different boughs of trees branch out, (126) they constructed in like manner the apartments (*śākhāḥ*) (of their houses): hence they

¹⁸⁰ “Perfection” seems to be here intended. If so, it would seem as if this line had been separated from its proper context.

¹⁸¹ *Dhanvānam sūvatodakam*. Perhaps we should read here with the Märk. P. xlix. 35, *vārkshyam pūrvaṭam audakam* “(fortresses) protected by trees, built on mountains, or surrounded by water.”

¹⁸² Whatever may be thought of this rendering of the phrase, *śākhāḥ grihasāṁ śtūṭāḥ*, the Märk. P. (xlix. 62), at least, is quite clear *grīvākārā yathā pūrvaṁ teshāṁ āsan mahiruhāḥ | tathā sāṁsmṛitya tat sarvaṁ chakrur veśnān tāḥ prajāḥ |* “As they had formerly had trees with the shape of houses, so recalling all that to mind, these people built their dwellings.”

are called rooms (*śālāḥ*).¹⁸³ In this way rooms and houses derive their appellation from branches. 127. Hence rooms are called *śālā*, and in that their character as rooms (*śālātvam*) consists. And inasmuch as the mind takes pleasure in them, and as they have gladdened (*prāsādayan*), the mind, (128) houses, rooms, and palaces are termed respectively *griha*, *śālā*, and *prāsāda*. Having adopted these means of defence against the 'opposites,' they devised methods of subsistence. 129. The kalpa-trees having been destroyed along with their honey, those creatures, afflicted with thirst and hunger, became disquieted by dejection. 130. Then again another perfection arose for them in the Tretā age,—which fulfilled the purpose of subsistence,—viz., rain at their pleasure. 131. The rain-water, which flowed into the hollows, burst out in the form of springs, water-courses, and rivers,¹⁸⁴ through the rain. 132. Thus at the second fall of rain rivers began to flow. When the drops of water first reached the ground, then (133) from the confluence of the waters and the earth plants sprang up among them, which bore both flowers, roots, and fruits. 134. Fourteen kinds of plants, cultivated and wild, were produced without ploughing or sowing, as well as trees and shrubs which bore flowers and fruit at the proper season. 135. This was the first appearance of plants in the Tretā age, and by them men subsisted at that period. 136. Then there again arose among them, universally, desire and cupidity, through a necessary process, and as a result of the Tretā age. 137. They then appropriated to themselves, by force and violence, rivers, fields, hills, trees, shrubs, and plants. 138. Those perfect beings, who were described by me as existing formerly in the Kṛita,—the mind-born children of Brahmā, who had been produced in this world when they came from the Janaloka,—(139) who were (some) tranquil, (some) fiery, (some) active, and (others) distressed,—were again born in the Tretā, (140) as Brāhmans, Kṣhatriyas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras, and injurious men, governed by the good and bad actions (performed) in former births. 141. Then those who were weaker than they, being truthful and innocent, dwelt among them, free from cupidity, and self-restrained; (142) whilst

¹⁸³ The reasoning here does not seem very cogent, as the two words *śākhā* and *śālā* do not appear to have any close connection. But such unsuccessful attempts at etymology are frequent in Sanskrit works.

¹⁸⁴ The text here does not seem to be in a satisfactory state. The Calc. edition of the Mār. P. reads *ṛuṣṭyāvaruddhair abhavat*, etc.

others, less glorious than they, took and did.¹⁸⁵ When they had thus become opposed to each other,—(143) through their misconduct, while they struggled together, the plants were destroyed, being seized with their fists like gravel. 144. Then the earth swallowed up the fourteen kinds of cultivated and wild plants, in consequence of the influence exerted by the Yuga: for men had seized again and again the fruit, together with the flowers and leaves. 145. After the plants had perished, the famished people, becoming bewildered, repaired to Svayambhū the lord of creatures, (146) in the beginning of the Tretā age, seeking the means of subsistence.¹⁸⁶ Learning what they desired, (147) and determining by intuition what was proper to be done, the Lord Brahmā Svayambhū, knowing that the plants had been swallowed up by the earth, milked them back. 148. Taking Sumeru as a calf, he milked this earth. When this earth (or cow)¹⁸⁷ was milked by him, roots were

¹⁸⁵ It is difficult to extract any satisfactory sense out of this line.

¹⁸⁶ The S. P. Br. ii. 4, 2, 1, also speaks of different classes of creatures applying to the creator for food. *Prajāpatiḥ va bhūtāny upāsīdan | prajāḥ va bhūtāni |* "vi no dāheṣu yathā jīvāma" *iti | tato devā yanopavitāno bhūtāni dakṣiṇāni jānu āchya upāsīdan | tūn abravīt "yojno vo 'nam amritatvaṁ va ūrg vah sūryo vo jyotiḥ" iti |* 2. *Atha enam pītarah prāchināvītnah saavyāni jānu āchya upāsīdan | tūn abravīt "māsi māsi vo 'śanām svadhā vo manogavo vaś chandamū vo jyotiḥ" iti |* 3. *Atha enam manushyāḥ prāvṛtāḥ upasthāni kṛtvā upāsīdan | tūn abravīt "sāyam prātara vo 'śanam prajāḥ vo mṛtyur vo 'gnir vo jyotiḥ" iti |* 4. *Atha enam paśavah upāsīdan | tebhyaḥ svavahani eva chakāra "yadā eva gūyam kadācha labhādīvar yadī kālō yady anūkālō atha eva aśnātha" iti | tasmād ete yadā kadācha labhante yadī kālō yady anūkālō atha eva aśnanti |* 5. *Atha ha enam śasvad apy asurāḥ upasēdur ity āhuh | tebhyaḥ tamāś cha māyīm cha pradādau | asty aha eva asura-māyī itī va | parābhūtā ha te eva tūh prajāḥ | tūh ināḥ prayāś tathava upajīvanti yathaitva ābhyaḥ Prajā-patir ādadāt |* "All beings resorted to Prajāpati,—(creatures are beings),—(saying) 'provide for us that we may live.' Then the gods, wearing the sacrificial cord, and bending the right knee, approached him. To them he said, 'let sacrifice be your food, your immortality your strength, the sun your light.' 2. Then the Fathers, wearing the sacrificial cord on their right shoulders, and bending the left knee, approached him. To them he said, 'you shall eat monthly, your oblation (svadhā) shall be your rapidity of thought, the moon your light.' 3. Then men, clothed, and inclining their bodies, approached him. To them he said, 'ye shall eat morning and evening, your offspring shall be your death, Agni your light.' 4. Then cattle repaired to him. To them he accorded their desire, (saying), 'Whosoever ye find anything, whether at the proper season or not, eat it.' Hence whenever they find anything, whether at the proper season or not, they eat it. 5. Then they say that the Asuras again and again resorted to him. To them he gave darkness (tamas) and illusion. There is, indeed, such a thing as the illusion, as it were, of the Asuras. But those creatures succumbed. These creatures subsist in the very manner which Prajāpati allotted to them."

¹⁸⁷ G. "cow" bo¹

produced again in the ground,—(149) those plants, whereof hemp is the seventeenth, which end with the ripening of fruits.” [The plants fit for domestic use, and for sacrifice are then enumerated in verses 150–155.] “155. All these plants, domestic and wild, were for the first time¹⁸⁸ produced at the beginning of the Tretā age, (156) without cultivation, trees, shrubs, and the various sorts of creepers and grasses, both those which produce roots as their fruits, and those which bear fruit after flowering. The seeds for which the earth was formerly milked by Svayambhū (158) now became plants bearing flowers and fruits in their season. When these plants, though created, did not afterwards grow, (159) the divine Brahmā Svayambhū devised for the people means of subsistence depending on labour effected by their hands. 160. From that time forward the plants were produced and ripened through cultivation. The means of subsistence having been provided, Svayambhū (161) established divisions among them according to their tendencies.¹⁸⁹ Those of them who were rapacious, and destructive, (162) he ordained to be Kshattriyas, protectors of the others.¹⁹⁰ As many men as attended on these, fearless, (163) speaking truth and propounding sacred knowledge (*brahma*) with exactness, (were made) Brāhmans. Those others of them who had previously been feeble, engaged in the work of slaughter,¹⁹¹ who, as cultivators (*kināśāḥ*), had been destructive, and were active in connection with the ground, were called Vaiśyas, husbandmen (*kināśān*), providers of subsistence. 165. And he designated as Sūdras those who grieved (*śochantaḥ*), and ran (*dravantaḥ*),¹⁹² who were addicted to menial tasks, inglorious and feeble.

¹⁸⁸ See the note on verse 55, above.

¹⁸⁹ *Yathāvarabhāḥ*. The Mārk. P. has *yathā-nyūyāṁ yathā-guṇam*, “according to fitness and their qualities.”

¹⁹⁰ *Itareshāṁ kṛta-trāṇān*. The M. Bh. xii. 2247, thus explains the word Kshattriya: *brāhmaṇānāṁ kṣata-trāṇāt tataḥ kshattriya uchyate* | “(a king) is called Kshattriya because he protects Brāhmans from injuries.”

¹⁹¹ *Yasasāṁ karma*. The former word has the senses of (1) “hindrance, impediment,” and (2) “slaughter,” assigned to it in Wilson’s Dictionary.

¹⁹² The reader who is familiar with the etymologies given in Yaska’s Nirukta, or in Professor Wilson’s Dictionary on Indian authority, will not be surprised at the absurdity of the attempts made here by the Purāṇa-writer to explain the origin of the words Kshattriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra. To account for the last of these names he combines the roots *śuch*, “to grieve,” and *drū*, “to run,” dropping, however, of necessity the last letter (*ch*) of the former. The word *kshattriya* is really derived from *kshattrā*, “royal power;” and *vaiśya* comes from *viś*, “people,” and means “a man of the people.”

166. Brahmā determined the respective functions and duties of all these persons. But after the system of the four castes had been in all respects established, (167) those men from infatuation did not fulfil their several duties. Not living conformably to those class-duties, they came into mutual conflict. 168. Having become aware of this fact, precisely as it stood, the Lord Brahmā prescribed force, criminal justice, and war, as the profession of the Kshattriyas. 169. He then appointed these, viz., the duty of officiating at sacrifices, sacred study, and the receipt of presents, to be the functions of Brāhmans. 170. The care of cattle, traffic, and agriculture, he allotted as the work of the Vaiśyas; and the practice of the mechanical arts, and service, he assigned as that of the Sūdras. 171. The duties common to Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas were the offering of sacrifice, study, and liberality. 172. Having distributed to the classes their respective functions and occupations, the Lord then allotted to them abodes in other worlds for their perfection. 173. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (destined) abode of Brāhmans practising rites; Indra's world that of Kshattriyas who do not flee in battle; (174) the world of the Maruts that of Vaiśyas who fulfil their proper duty; the world of the Gandharvas that of men of Sūdra birth who abide in the work of service. 175. Having allotted these as the future abodes of (the men of the different) classes, who should be correct in their conduct, he ordained orders (*āśramas*) in the classes which had been established. 176. The Lord formerly instituted the four orders of householder, religious student, dweller in the woods, and mendicant. 177. To those of them who do not in this world perform the duties of their castes, the men who dwell in hermitages apply the appellation of 'destroyer of works.' 178. Brahmā established these orders by name, and in explanation of them he declared their duties, (179) their methods of procedure, and their various rites. First of all there is the order of householder, which belongs to all the four classes, (180) and is the foundation and source of the other three orders. I shall declare them in order with their several observances." [The following verses 181-189, which detail these duties, need not be cited here. I shall, however, quote verses 190 ff. for their excellent moral tone.] "190. The Vedas, with their appendages, sacrifices, fasts, and ceremonies, (191) avail not to a depraved man, when his disposition has become corrupted. All external rites are

fruitless (192) to one who is inwardly debased, however energetically he may perform them. A man who bestows even the whole of his substance with a defiled heart will thereby acquire no merit—of which a good disposition is the only cause.” [After giving some further particulars about the celestial abodes of the righteous, verses 194–198, the writer proceeds:] “199. When—after the division into castes and orders had thus been made—(200) the people living under that system did not multiply, Brahmā formed other mind-born creatures in the middle of the Tretā (201) from his own body and resembling himself. When the Tretā age had arrived, and had gradually reached its middle, (202) the Lord then began to form other mind-born creatures. He next formed creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) and passion (*rajas*) predominated, (203) and who were capable of attaining (the four objects of human pursuit) righteousness, wealth, love, and final liberation, together with the means of subsistence. Gods, too, and Fathers, and Rishis, ~~and~~ Manus (were formed), (204) by whom these creatures were classified (?) according to their natures in conformity with the Yuga. When this character (?) of his offspring had been attained, Brahmā (205) longed after mental offspring of all kinds and of various forms. Those creatures, whom I described to you as having taken refuge in Janaloka, (206) at the end of the Kalpa, all these arrived here, when he thought upon them, in order to be reproduced in the form of gods and other beings. 207. According to the course of the Manvantaras the least were esteemed the first (?), being swayed by destiny, and by connections and circumstances of every description. 208. These creatures were always born, under the controuling influence of, and as a recompence for their good or bad deeds. 209. He by himself formed those creatures which arrived in their several characters of gods, asuras, fathers, cattle, birds, reptiles, trees, and insects, in order that they might be subjected (anew) to the condition of creatures.”¹²³

The substance of the curious speculations on the origin and primeval condition of mankind contained in the preceding passage may be stated as follows: In verses 22–34 we are told that the creatures, who at the close of the preceding Kalpa had been driven by the mundane conflagration to Janaloka, now formed the seed of the new creation, which took place in the Krita Yuga, at the commencement of the present

¹²³ I confess that I have had great difficulty in attaching any sense to the last words.

Kalpa. These were mind-born sons of Brahmā, perfect in nature, and they peopled the world. As a rule, we are informed, those beings who have formerly been elevated from the earth to higher regions, return again and again to this world, and, as a result of their previous works, are born in every age, in every possible variety of condition, exhibiting the same dispositions and fulfilling the same functions as in their former states of existence. It is next stated, verses 35-40, that when creation had, in some way not explained, come to a stand-still, four classes of human beings, consisting each of a thousand pairs of males and females, characterized respectively by different qualities, physical and moral, were produced from different members of the Creator's body.¹⁰⁴ These creatures sought to propagate the race, but abortively, for the reason specified (43). Children however were produced by mental effort (45 and 59), and in considerable numbers (52). The state of physical happiness, absolute and universal equality, moral perfection, and complete dispassion, in which mankind then existed, is depicted (53-55). The means of subsistence and enjoyment, which they are said to have drawn from the earth (48 and 57), were not of the ordinary kind, as we are informed (55 f.) that neither animals nor plants, which are the products of unrighteousness, existed at that period. No division into castes or orders prevailed during that age of perfection (62). A gradual declension, however, had been going on, and at the end of the Kṛita Yuga, the perfection peculiar to it had altogether disappeared (70-79). Another kind of perfection, peculiar to the Tretā, however, subsequently arose (73 and 80), and in the different Yugas there has existed a perfection springing from the performance of the duties belonging to each caste and order (75). The perfection described as prevailing in the Tretā was of a physical kind, consisting in the production of rain and the growth of trees, shaped like houses, which at the same time yielded the materials of all sorts of enjoyments (80-82). Passion, however, in its various forms began to take the place of the previous dispassion (84). The constitution of women, which had formerly incapacitated them for effective impregnation, became ultimately so modified as to ensure the successful propagation of the species, which

¹⁰⁴ This statement agrees with that in the Mark. P. xlix 3 ff. but differs from that already given from the Vishnu P. in so far as the latter does not specify the numbers created, or say anything about pairs being formed.

accordingly proceeded (84-87).¹⁰⁶ We have then the destruction, and subsequent reproduction of the trees, formed like houses, described (88-91). These trees now produced clothes and jewels, as well as honey without bees, and enabled mankind to live in happiness and enjoyment. Again, however, the trees disappeared in consequence of the cupidity which led to their misuse (92-94). The absence of perfection occasioned suffering of various kinds, from moral as well as physical causes, and men were now driven to construct houses, which they had hitherto found unnecessary (96-99 and 123), and to congregate in towns and cities (100). Their houses were built after the model furnished by trees (123-128). The hunger and thirst which men endured from the loss of the trees which had formerly yielded all the means of subsistence and enjoyment, were relieved by means of a new perfection which appeared in the shape of rain, and the streams thereby generated, and by the growth of plants, which now sprang up for the first time as a result of the conjunction of water and earth (130-135 and 155). Desire and cupidity, however, now again arose and led to acts of violent appropriation (136 f.). At this juncture the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, of different dispositions, who had formerly existed in the Kṛita age, were reproduced in the Tretā as Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras, and destructive men, as a result of their actions in their former existence (138-140). But in consequence of their discussions and rapacity, the earth swallowed up all the existing plants (142-144). Under the pressure of the distress thus occasioned the inhabitants of the earth resorted to Brahmā, who milked the earth, through the medium of mount Sumeru acting as a calf, and recovered the plants which had disappeared (145-149). As, however, these plants did not propagate themselves spontaneously, Brahmā introduced agriculture (158-160). Having thus provided the means of subsistence, he divided the people into classes according to their characteristics (160-165). But as these classes did not perform their several duties, and came into mutual conflict, Brahmā prescribed their respective functions with greater precision (166-171); and assigned the future celestial abodes which the members of each class might attain by their fulfilment (172-174). He then ordained the four orders of householder, religious

¹⁰⁶ It is not quite clear, however, what is intended by the word *akāle*, "out of season," in verse 87. See the emendation proposed above in the note on that verse.

student, etc. (175-190). After a few verses in praise of moral purity (190-193), the abodes and destinies of the eminently righteous are set forth (194-199). Just when we had arrived at a point in the narrative, from which we might have imagined that it had only to be carried on further to afford us a sufficient explanation of the state of things existing up to the present age, we are suddenly arrested (199-202) by being informed that the people distributed according to the system of castes and orders did not multiply, and are introduced to a new mind-born creation, which took place in the Tretā age, to remedy this failure. We are next told (203) of what appears to be another creation of beings endowed with goodness and passion. And, finally, a yet further re-incorporation of previously existing souls is described as having taken place (205-209). It would thus seem that after all we are left without any account of the origin of the system of castes which prevailed when the Purāṇa was compiled. The only suppositions on which this conclusion can be avoided are either (1) that the cessation in the increase of the generation alluded to in verse 200, which led to the new creation, was not universal, that the race then existing did not entirely die out, but that the old blood was re-invigorated by that of the newly created beings; or (2) that the other set of creatures, mentioned in verse 203, as characterized by goodness and passion, were the progenitors of the present race of men. On these points, however, the text throws no light.

The preceding account of the creation of mankind and of the vicissitudes and deterioration of society, is in some places obscure and confused, and its several parts do not appear to be consistent with each other. At the outset the writer describes the creation of four thousand pairs of human beings, of whom each separate set of one thousand is distinguished by widely different innate characters, the first class having the quality of goodness, the second that of passion, the third those of passion and darkness, and the fourth that of darkness. Nevertheless (as in the parallel passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa) we cannot find in the narrative the least trace of those inherent differences of character having for a long time manifested themselves by producing dissimilarity either of moral conduct or of physical condition; for the perfection, which is described as existing in the Kṛitā age, is spoken of as if it was universal; and not only is no distinction alluded to as prevailing at this period between

the component parts of society, but we are expressly told that no castes or orders then existed. The deterioration also, which ensued towards the end of the Kṛita age, is described as general, and not peculiar to any class. How is this complete uniformity, first of perfection, and afterwards of declension, which, for anything that appears to the contrary, is predicated of the descendants of the whole of the four thousand pairs, to be reconciled with the assertion that each thousand of those pairs was characterized by different innate qualities? The difficulty is not removed by saying that the writer supposed that these inherent varieties of character existed in a latent or dormant state in the different classes, and were afterwards developed in their descendants; for he distinctly declares (verse 54) in general terms that mankind were at that period *sattva-bahulāḥ*, i.e. "possessed the quality of goodness in abundance;" and in the earlier part of the subsequent narrative no allusion is made to the different qualities at first ascribed to the four sets of a thousand pairs being separately developed in the members of the four classes respectively. In verse 74, indeed, it appears to be assumed that the division into castes had existed from the creation; for we there find an assertion that in "all the Munvantaras, according to the division of the four yugas," (including apparently the Kṛita) "there is declared to have existed a perfection effected by the observances of the castes and orders, and arising from the fulfilment of works;" but how is this to be reconciled with the express statement of verses 60 and 61, that "in the Kṛita age no works were performed which were either virtuous or sinful," and that "there then existed neither distinctions of caste or order, nor any mixture of castes?" In the Tretā age the state of deterioration continued, but no reference is made of any separation of classes till we come to verse 138, where it is said that the beings who in the Kṛita age had existed as the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, were now, as a consequence of their former actions, recalled into human existence, and in conformity with their previous characters as calm, fiery, laborious, or depressed, became Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras, and men of violence. These creatures, after they had been furnished with the means of subsistence, were eventually divided into classes, according to their varieties of disposition, character, and occupation; and as at first they did not fulfil their proper duties, but encroached upon each others'

provinces, their functions were afterwards more stringently defined and the means of enforcing obedience were provided. Here it is intimated that different sets of beings were born as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, on account of the different qualities which they had manifested in a previous existence, and that in conformity with those same characteristics they were afterwards formally distributed into castes. This description is therefore so far consistent with itself. The difference of caste is made to depend upon the dispositions of the soul. But how are we to reconcile this postulation of different characters formerly exhibited with the description given in the previous part of the narrative, where we are informed that, in the earlier parts, at least, of the Kṛita age, all men were alike perfect, and that no actions were performed which were either virtuous or vicious? If such was the case at that period, how could the beings who then existed have manifested those differences of disposition and character which are asserted to have been the causes of their being subsequently reborn as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Sūdras, and Vaiśyas? It may be admitted that the differences of character, which are attributed in the Purāṇa to the four primeval sets of a thousand pairs of human beings, correspond to those qualities which are described as having subsequently given rise to the division into castes; but the assertion of such a state of uniform and universal perfection, as is said to have intervened between the creation of mankind and the realization of caste, seems incompatible with the existence of any such original distinctions of a moral character.

As regards this entire account when compared with the other two descriptions of the creation given in the previous part of this section, the same remarks are applicable as have been made in the last section, p. 65 f., on the corresponding passages from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

The chapter which I have just translated and examined, is followed immediately by the one of which I have already in a preceding page quoted the commencement, descriptive of the creation of Asuras, Gods, Fathers, etc., from the different bodies assumed and cast off successively by Brahmā.

I shall now give an extract from the following, or tenth chapter, in which the the legend of Śatarūpā is related.

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Evambhūteshu lokeshu Brahmanā loka-kartṛiṇā*¹⁹⁶ |

¹⁹⁶ This form *kartṛiṇā* (one which, as is well known, may be optionally employed in

yadā tāṇ na pravarttante prajāḥ kenāpi hetunā | 2. Tamo-mātrāvrito
 Brahmā tadā-prabhṛiti duḥkṛitāḥ | tataḥ sa vidadhe buddhim artha-
 niścaya-gāminim | 3. Athātmani samasrākṣīt tamo-mātrāṁ nijāt-
 mikām | rajah-sattvam parjitya varttamānāṁ sa dharmataḥ | 4.
 Tapyate tena duḥkṛhena śokaṁ chakre jagat-patiḥ | tamas tu vyanudat
 tasmād rajas tach cha samāvṛinot | 5. Tat tamaḥ pratinuttaṁ vai mi-
 thunaṁ samvyajāyata | adharmas charaṇāj jagne himsā śokād ajāyata |
 6. Tatas tasmin samudbhūte mithunc charaṇātmani | tatas cha bhagavān
 āsit pritiśchainam aśisṛiyat | 7. Svām tanuṁ sa tato Brahmā tām
 apohad abhāsvarām | dvīdhā 'karot sa tam deham ardhena puruṣo
 'bhavat | 8. Ardhenu nārī sā tasya Satarūpā vyajāyata | prākṛitām
 bhūta-dhātrīm tām kāmād vai sṛiṣṭuvān vibluḥ | 9. Sā divam prithi-
 vīm chaiva mahimnā vyāpya dhṛiṣṭhitā | Brahmanāḥ sātānuḥ pūrvā
 divam āvṛitya tiṣṭhatī | 10. Yā tv ardhāt sṛjate nārī Satarūpā vyajā-
 yata | sā devī nyatām taptrā tapaḥ parama-duṣṭharam | bharttāram
 dīptāyāsam Puruṣam pratyapadyata | 11. Sa vai Svāyambhuvaḥ
 pūrvam Puruṣo Manur uchyate | tasyaikasaptati-yugam Manvanta-
 ram ihochyate | 12. Labdhvā tu puruṣaḥ putnīm Satarūpām ayonyām |
 tayā sa ramate sārddham tasmāt sā Ratir uchyate | 13. Prathamāḥ
 samprayogaḥ sa kalpadāu samavattata | Virājam asṛjād Brahmā so
 'bhavat Puruṣo Virāḥ | 14. Sa samrāḥ māsarūpāt tu varājas tu Manuḥ
 smṛitah | sa vairājaḥ prajā-sargaḥ sa sarge puruṣo Manuḥ | 15. Vai-
 rājāt puruṣād vīrāch chhatarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottānapādau
 putrau putratatām varau |

"1. When the worlds had thus been formed by Brahmā their creator, but the creatures, for some reason did not engage in action,¹⁹⁷ (2) Brahmā, enveloped in gloom, and thenceforward dejected, formed a resolution tending to ascertain the fact. 3. He then created in himself (a body) of his own, formed of pure gloom (tamas), having overpowered the passion (rajas) and goodness (sattva) which existed (in him) naturally. 4. The Lord of the world was afflicted with that suffering, and la-

the neuter, but not in the masculine) is here used for metrical reasons. Such irregularities are, as we have seen, designated by the Commentators as *āśha*. It is unlikely that Brahman should be here used in a neuter sense.

¹⁹⁷ The true reading here may be *pravarddhante*, in which case the sense will be "did not multiply." Compare the parallel passage in the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 7, 4, p. 64.

mented.¹⁹⁸ He then dispelled the gloom, and covered over the passion. 5. The gloom, when scattered, was formed into a pair.¹⁹⁹ Unrighteousness arose from activity (?), and mischief sprang from sorrow. 6. That active (?) pair having been produced, he became glorious (?) and pleasure took possession of him. 7. Brahmā after that cast off that body of his, which was devoid of lustre, and divided his person into two parts; with the half he became a male (*purusha*) (8) and with the half a female: it was Satarūpā who was so produced to him. Under the impulse of lust he created her a material supporter of beings. 9. By her magnitude she pervaded both heaven and earth. That former body of Brahmā invests the sky. 10. This divine female Satarūpā, who was born to him from his half, as he was creating, by incessantly practising austere fervour of a highly arduous description, acquired for herself as a husband a Male (*purusha*) of glorious renown. He is called of old the Male, Manu Svāyambhuva; and his period (*manvantara*) is declared to extend to seventy-one Yugas.²⁰⁰ This Male, having obtained for his wife, Satarūpā, not sprung from any womb, lived in dalliance with her (*ramate*); and from this she is called Rati (the female personification of sexual love). 13. This was the first cohabitation practised in the beginning of the Kalpa. Brahmā created Virāj; he was the Male, Virāj. 14. He is the sovereign (*samraj*), from his having the form of a month; and Manu is known as the son of Virāj.²⁰¹ This creation of living beings is called that of Virāj. In this creation Manu is the male. 15. Satarūpā bore to the heroic Purusha, son of Virāj, two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, the most eminent of those who have sons." This is followed by a further genealogy, into which I will not enter.

By comparing this account with the one extracted above, p. 64 f. from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff., it will be seen that while it makes no allusion to the production of Rudra, as related in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (which, as well as the birth of the mental sons of Brahmā, the Vāyu Purāṇa had described in the preceding chapter, verses 67-83), it is somewhat fuller in regard to the legend of Satarūpā; and although it

¹⁹⁸ With this account of Brahmā's dejection and grief the accounts quoted above pp. 68 ff. from the Brāhmaṇas may be compared.

¹⁹⁹ Compare the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 9 ff. quoted in p. 64 f.

²⁰⁰ Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes, above, p. 36.

does not allow that Brahmā cohabited with his daughter, and assigns to her another husband, Manu Svāyambhūva, it describes the creator as having been actuated by carnal desire in generating her. I shall give further illustrations of this story in the next section.

SECT. IX.—*Legend of Brahmā and his daughter, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Satarūpā, according to the Matsya Purāṇa.*

The story which forms the subject of the present section is noticed at some length in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 38–46, where one of the oldest passages in which it is related, is quoted from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 4, 1 ff., together with one of a comparatively late age from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iii. 12, 28 ff. As however the legend, though repulsive in its character, is not without interest as illustrating the opinions which Indian mythologists have entertained regarding their deities, I shall quote two other texts in which it is narrated.

The first, from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 33, has, no doubt (along with the passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa just referred to, and another from the same work, xiv. 4, 2, 1 ff., quoted above, in p. 24 ff.), furnished the ideas which are expanded in the later versions of the story. It is as follows:

Prajāpatir vai sūm̐ duhitaram abhyadhyāyat | Divam ity anye āhur Ushasam ity anye | tām rīsyō bhūtvā rohitām bhūtām abhyat | tam devā apaśyan | “akṛitaṁ vai Prajāpatiḥ karoti” iti | te tam arohan yaḥ enam ārūshyati | etam anyonyasmin na avindan | teshāṁ yā eva ghoratamās tanvaḥ āsāṁs tāḥ ekadhā samabharan | tāḥ sambhṛtāḥ osha devo ’bhavat | tad asya etad bhūtavan-nāma’ | bhuvati vai sa yo ’sya etad evaṁ nāma veda | taṁ devā abruvann “ayaṁ vai Prajāpatir akṛitam akar imam vidhya” iti | sa “tathā” ity abravīt | “sa vai vo varam vṛṇai” iti | “vṛṇīṣhva” iti | sa etam eva varam avṛṇīta paśūnām ādhīpatyam | tad asya etat paśuman-nāma | paśumān bhavati yo ’sya etad evaṁ nāma veda | tam abhyāyatya avidhyat | sa viddhāḥ ūrdhvas udaprāpatad ityādi²⁰¹ |

²⁰¹ See the translation of this passage given by Dr. Haug in his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

“Prajāpati lusted after his own daughter. Some call her the Sky, others Ushas. Becoming a buck, he approached her after she had become a doe. The gods saw him; (and said) Prajāpati does a deed which was never done (before).²⁰² They sought some one who should take vengeance on him. Such a person they did not find among themselves. They then gathered together their most dreadful bodies. These when combined formed this god (Rudra). Hence (arises) his name connected with Bhūta (*Bhūtapati*). That man flourishes²⁰³ who thus knows this name of his. The gods said to him, ‘This Prajāpati has done a deed which was never done before: pierce him.’ He replied, ‘so be it,’ (adding), ‘let me ask a boon of you.’ They rejoined, ‘ask.’ He asked for this boon, viz., lordship over cattle. Hence arises his name connected with Paśu (*Paśupati*). He who thus knows his name, becomes the owner of cattle. He then attacked (Prajāpati) and pierced him. He, when pierced, soared upwards,” etc. etc.

The second passage I proposed to cite is from the Matsya-Purāṇa, chapter iii. verses 32 ff.: *Etad tattvātmakam kṛtvā jagad dvedhā ajñanat* | 33. *Sāvitrīm loka-siddhyartham hrīdi kṛtvā samasthitam* | *tataḥ sanjapatas tasya bhūtvā deham akalmatham* | 34. *strī-rūpam arddham akarod arddham puruṣa-rūpavat* | *Satarūpā cha sū khyatā Sāvitrī cha ngadyate* | 35. *Sarasvaty atha Gāyatrī Brahmānī cha parantapa* | *tataḥ sa Brahmadevās tām ātmajām ity akalpayat* | 36. *Drishṭvā tām vyathitas tāvat kāma-vānārdito vibhuḥ* | “*aho rūpam aho rūpam*” *ity uvācha tadā ’vyayaḥ* | 37. *Tato Vasishṭha-pramulhā “bhaginīm” iti chukruṣuḥ* | *Brahmā na kinchid dadṛśe tan-mukhālokanād uto* | 38. “*Aho rūpam aho rūpam*” *iti āha punaḥ punaḥ* | *tataḥ pranāma-namrām tām punas tām abhyalokayat* | 39. *Atha pradakṣiṇām chakre sā pitur varacarninī* | *putreḥhyo lajjitasyāṣya tad-rūpālōkanechhayā* | 40. *Āvīrbhūtam tato vaktram dakṣiṇam pāṇḍu-gaṇḍavat* |

vol. ii pp. 218 ff., and the remarks on this translation by Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, ix. 217 ff.; and also Professor Roth's explanation of the word *bhūtat* in his *Lexicon*.

²⁰² This seems to be imitated in the line of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 30, quoted in vol. iv. of this work, p. 40 *naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛtam tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare* | “This was never done by those before thee, nor will those after thee do it.”

²⁰³ *Bhavati*. In the Brāhmaṇas this verb has frequently the sense of prospering, as opposed to *parūbhavati*, “he perishes.” See Böthlingk and Roth's *Lexicon*, s. v., and the passages there referred to.

vismāya-sphurad-oshṭham cha pāśchātyam uḍagāt tataḥ | 41. Chatur-
 tham abhavat pāśchād vāmam kāmā-śarāturam | tato 'nyad abhavat
 tasya kāmāturatayā tathā | 42. Utpatantyās tadā "kāśe ālokena kutū-
 halāt | śriṣṭy-artham yat kṛitam tena tapaḥ paramadūrunam | 43. Tat
 sarvam nāsam agamat sva-sutopagamechhayā | tenāśu²⁰⁴ vaktram abhavat
 pañchamaṁ tasya dhīmataḥ | 44. Āvirbhavaj jaṭābhīścha tad vaktranchā-
 vr̥ṇot prabhuk | tatas tām abravīd Brahmā putrān ātma-samudbhavān |
 45. "Prajāḥ, śrijadhvam abhitaḥ sa-devāsura-mānushāḥ" | evam uktās
 tataḥ sarve sasṛjūr vivīdhūḥ prajāḥ | 46. Gateshu teshu śriṣṭyartham
 prapñamāvanatām imām | upayame sa viśvātmā Satarūpām aninditām |
 47. Sambabhūva tayā sārddham atikāmāturo vibhuk | salajjūṁ chakamo
 devaḥ kamalodara-mandire | 48. Yāvad abda-śataṁ divyaṁ yathā 'nyaḥ
 prākṛito janaḥ | tataḥ kālena makatā tasyāḥ putro 'bhavad Manuḥ | 49.
 Svāyambhuva iti khyātāḥ sa Virāḍ iti naḥ śrutam | tad-rūpa-guṇa-sāmā-
 nyād adhipūruṣa uchyate | 50. Vairājā yatra te jātāḥ bahavaḥ saṁśīta-
 vratāḥ | Svāyambhuvā mahābhāgāḥ sapta sapta tathā 'pare | 51. Svā-
 rochishādyāḥ sarve te Brahma-tulya-svarūpiṇāḥ | Auttami-pramukhās
 tadvad yeshāṁ tvaṁ saptamo 'dhunā | (Adhyāya. 4.) Manur uvācha |
 1. Aho kaṣṭataram cha itad angajāgamanam vibhoḥ | Kathaṁ na dosham
 agamat karmanā tena Padmajah | 2. Parasparañcha sambandhaḥ sago-
 trāṇām abhūt katham | vaivāhikas tat-sutānām chhīndi me saṁśayaṁ
 vibho | Matsya uvācha | 3. Divyeyam ādi-śriṣṭis tu rajo-guṇa-samud-
 bhavā | atīndriyendriyā tadvad atīndriya-śarīrikā | 4. Divya-tejomayī
 bhūpa divya-jñāna-samudbhavā | na chānyair abhitaḥ śakyā jñātum vai
 māṁsa-chakshuṣā | 5. Yathā bhujangūḥ śarpāṇām ākāśe sarva-pakshi-
 ṇām | vidanti mūrgām divyānām divyā eva na mānavāḥ | 6. Kāryā-
 kāryeṇa devāscha śubhāśubha-phala-pradāḥ | yasmāt tasmād na rājendra
 tad-viehāro nṛiṇām śubhaḥ | 7. Anyachcha sarva-devānām adhishṭhātā
 chaturmukhaḥ | gāyatrī Brahmanas tadvad anga-bhūtā nigadyate | 8.
 Amūrta-mūrttimad vāpi mīthunancha prachakshate | Viranchir yatra
 bhagavāns tatra devī Sarasvatī | 9. Bhārati yatra yatraiva tatra tatra
 Prajāpatiḥ | yathātāpena rahitā chhāyā vai (? na) dr̥śyate kvachit |
 10. Gāyatrī Brahmanah pārśvam tathāiva na vimunchati | veda-rāsīḥ
 smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhītā | 11. Tasmād na kaśchid doshaḥ
 syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ | tathāpi lajjāvanataḥ Prajāpatir abhūt purā |
 12. Sva-sutopagamād Brāhmā śaśapa Kusumāyudham | yasmād mamāpi

²⁰⁴ T. 1. Ad of tenāśu the G. Kowar M.S. reads tenorāśva.

bhavatā manaḥ saṁkshobhitaṁ śaraiḥ | 13. *Tasmāt tvad-deham achirād Rudro bhasmikaśishyati* | *tataḥ prasādayāmāsa Kāmadevas Chaturmukham* | 14. “*Na mām akāraṇaṁ saptaṁ tvam thārhasi mām ava* | *aham evaṁ-vidhaḥ śriṣṭas tvayaiva chaturānana* | 15. *Indriya-kshobha-janakah sarveshām eva dehinām* | *strī-puṁsor avichāreṇa mayā sarvatra sarvadā* | 16. *Kshobhyam manaḥ prayatnena tvayaivoktam purā vibho* | *tasmād anaparādheṇa tvayā śaptas tathā vibho* | 17. *Kuru prasādam bhagavan eva-śarīrāptaye punaḥ* | *Brahmā uvācha* | 18. *Vaivasvate, 'ntare prāpte Yādavānvaya-sambhavaḥ* | *Rāmo nāma yadā martyo mat-sattva-balam āśritah* | 19. *Avatīryāsura-dhvaṁśi Dvārakām adhvateṣyati* | *tad-dhātus tat-samaścha* ³⁰⁵ *tvam tadā putratvam eśhyasi ityādī* |

“32. Having thus formed the universe, consisting of the principles, he generated a twofold creation, (33) having, with a view to the completion of the world, placed and kept Sāvitrī in his heart. Then as he was muttering prayers, he divided his spotless body (34) and gave to the half the form of a woman, and to the half that ~~of a~~ male. (This female) is called Sutarūpā, Sāvitrī, (35) Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī, and Brahmāṇī. Brahmā then took her for his daughter. 36. Beholding her, the imperishable deity, distressed, tortured with the arrows of love, exclaimed, ‘o what beauty! o what beauty!’ 37. Then (his sons) headed by Vasishṭha, cried aloud, ‘(our) sister.’ Brahmā saw nothing else, looking only at her face; (38) and exclaimed again and again, ‘o what beauty! o what beauty!’ He then again gazed upon her, as she bend forward in obeisance. 39. The fair woman then made a circuit round her father. As on account of his sons he felt ashamed; from his desire of gazing on her beauty (40) there appeared (on his head) a southern face with pale cheeks; and there was afterwards manifested a western face with lips quivering with astonishment. 41. A fourth was subsequently formed, beautiful, disquieted by the arrows of love. Then another was produced from the disturbing influence of the same passion, (42) and from eagerness in gazing after her as she rose upwards in the sky. That austere fervour, extremely dreadful, which Brahmā had practised with a view to creation, (43) was entirely lost through his desire to approach his daughter (carnally). Through this was produced speedily the fifth face (or, according to one MS., the upper,

³⁰⁵ Such appears to be the reading of the Gaikowar MS. The original reading of the Taylor MS. has been erased, and another substituted, *tatas tat-samaye tvam cha*.

the fifth face) of the wise deity, (44) which appeared with matted hair, and which he covered up. Brahmā then said to the sons who had sprung from him, (45) 'create living beings everywhere, gods, asuras, and men.' They, being thus addressed, created beings of various kinds. 46. When they had gone away for the purpose of creating, he, who is the universe, took for his wife the unblamed Satarūpā. 47. Sickened with love, he cohabited with her: like any ordinary being, he loved her,—though she was full of shame—embowered in the hollow of a lotus, (48) for a hundred years of the gods. A long time after, a son was born to her, Manu (49) called Svāyambhuva, who, as we have heard, is Virāj. From their community of form and qualities he is called Adhipūrnsha.³⁰⁶ 50. From him were sprung those numerous Vairājas, steadfast in religious observances, those seven glorious sons of Svayambhū, and those other seven Manus, (51) beginning with Svārochisha and Auttami, in form equal to Brahmā, of whom thou³⁰⁷ art now the seventh. (4th chapter) 1. Manu says: 'Ah! this is most afflicting, this entrance of love into the god. How was it that the lotus-born did not incur guilt by that act? 2. And how did a matrimonial connection take place between persons of the same family who were sprung from him? Solve this doubt of mine, o Lord. The Fish replied: 3. This primeval creation was celestial, produced from the quality of passion (*rajas*); it had senses removed beyond the cognizance of sense, and bodies of the same description, (4) was possessed of celestial energy, derived from celestial knowledge, and cannot be perfectly perceived by others with the eye of flesh. 5. Just as serpents know the path of serpents, and (beings living) in the sky know the path of all sorts of birds, so too the celestials alone, and not men, know the way of celestials. 6. And since it is the gods who award the recompense, favourable or unfavourable, according as good or bad deeds have been done,—it is not good for men to examine this (question). 7. Furthermore, the four-faced (Brahmā) is the ruler of all the gods, and in like manner the Gāyatrī is declared to be a member of Brahmā. 8. And, as

³⁰⁶ Compare the Purusha Sukta, above p. 8, in the fifth verse of which the words *Virājo adhi purushah* occur. If the last two words are combined they give the name in the text.

³⁰⁷ This account is given by the deity represented as incarnate in a Fish, to Manu
V ' v v

they say, there is a pair consisting of the formless, and of that which has form. Wherever the divine Viranchi (Brahmā) is, there is also the goddess Sarasvatī. 9. Wherever Bhārati (a name of Sarasvatī) is, there is also Prajāpati. Just as shadow is nowhere seen without sunshine, (10) so Gāyatrī never forsakes the side of Brahmā. He is called the collected Veda, and Sāvitrī rests upon him; (11) there can therefore be no fault in his approaching her. Nevertheless, Brahmā, the lord of creatures, was bowed down with shame, (12) because he had approached his own daughter, and cursed Kusumāyudha²⁰⁵ (Kāma), (in these words) 'As even my mind has been agitated by thy arrows, Rudra shall speedily reduce thy body to ashes.' Kāmadeva then propitiated the four-faced deity, saying, (14) 'Thou oughtest not to curse me without cause: preserve me. It is by thee thyself that I have been created with such a character, (15) an agitator of the organs of sense of all embodied creatures. Tho minds both of men and women must always and everywhere (16) be energetically stirred up by me without hesitation: this thou thyself hast formerly declared. It is therefore without any fault of mine that I have been thus cursed by thee. 17. Be gracious, lord, that I may recover my body.' Brahmā answered: 18. 'When the Vaivasvata Manvantara shall have arrived, a mortal, named Rāma, sprung from the Yādava race, deriving force from my essence, (19) and, becoming incarnate as a destroyer of Asuras, shall inhabit Dvārakā. Thou shalt then become a son of his substance and like to him," etc.

The narrator of this legend does not hesitate to depict in the strongest colours (though without the least approach to grossness) the helpless subjection of Brahmā to the influence of sexual desire. This illicit indulgence was regarded by the authors of the *Satapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* as in the highest degree scandalous, and they do not attempt to palliate its enormity by any mystical explanation, such as that which we find in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Whether this apology proceeded from the original narrator, or from a later writer of a more sensitive disposition, who perceived its inconsistency with any elevated idea of the superior powers, is difficult to say. It is quite possible that the same writer who gave his fancy scope in describing the unbecoming scene, of which the substance had been handed down in works regarded

²⁰⁵ The word means "He whose weapons are flowers."

as authoritative, may also have thought it necessary to discover some device for counteracting the scandal. On the other hand, the original writer seems to cut himself off from the privilege of resorting to any mystical refinements to explain away the offence, by having in the first instance represented Brahmā's indulgence as on a level with that of ordinary beings. And even after the apology has been concluded, we are still told that Brahmā could not help feeling ashamed of what he had done. The writer of the explanation ought to have perceived that if his defence was of any value, the deity for whom he was apologizing had no ground for humiliation. But he did not venture to expunge the popular features of the story. The grounds on which the apology proceeds are partly of the same character as those which the writer of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assumes in the passage (x. 33, 27 ff.) which is given in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 42 f., viz., that the gods are not to be judged on the same principles as men,—that "the celestials have laws of their own" (*sunt superis sua jura*). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has, however, different measures for Brahmā and for Kṛishṇa; for whilst the adultery of the latter is defended in the verses just referred to, no desire is shown to vindicate the former in the other passage, iii. 12, 28 ff., adduced in the same volume, page 40.

As regards the details of the story according to the different Purāṇas, I may observe that while the Vishṇu, the Vāyu (see above, pp. 65, and 106), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, xl. 13 f., represent Satarūpā as the wife of Manu Svāyambhuva, the Matsya Purāṇa, as we have just seen, declares her to have been the spouse of Brahmā himself, and the mother of Manu Svāyambhuva.²⁰⁹ This is repeated in the twenty-sixth verse of the fourth chapter:

*Yā sā dehārdha-sambhūtā Gāyatrī brahma-vādinī | janani yā Manor
devi Satarūpā Sātendriyā | 27. Ratir Manas Tapo Buddhir mahad-ādi-
samudbhavā²¹⁰ | tataḥ sa Satarūpāyām sapṭapatyāny aṭṭjanat | 28. Ye
Marichyādayaḥ putrāḥ mānasās tasya dhīmataḥ | teshām ayam abhūt
lokaḥ sarva-jnānātmakaḥ purā | 29. Tato 'ṣṛijaḥ Vāmadevam triśūla-
vara-dhārinam | Sanatsumāraṇcha viḍhum pūrveshām api pūrvajam | 30.*

²⁰⁹ Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes (above, p. 36), which does not coincide in all particulars with any of the Purāṇas here quoted.

²¹⁰ In this line the original readings are in several places erased in the Taylor MS. I have endeavoured to restore it with the help of the Gaiikowar MS.

*Vāmadevas tu bhagavān asṛjad mukhato dvijān | rājanyān asṛjad bāhor
Viś-sūdrāv ūru-pādayoh | . . . 35. Svāyambhuvo Manur dhimāns
tapas taptvā suduścaram | patnīm avāpa rūpādhyām Anantām nāma
nāmatah | Priyavratottānapādaū Manus tasyām aṣṭjanat |*

"She who was produced from the half of his body, Gāyatrī the declarer of sacred science, she who was the mother of Manu, the goddess Satarūpā (i.e. having a hundred forms), Satendriyā (i.e. having a hundred senses), (27) (was also) Rati, Mind, Austere Fervour, Intellect, sprung from Mahat and the other principles. He then begot upon Satarūpā seven sons. 28. This world, composed of all knowledge, sprang from Marichi, and the others who were the mind-born sons of that wise Being. He next created Vāmadeva (Mahādeva), the wielder of the excellent trident, and the lord Sanātkumāra, born before the earliest. 30. Then the divine Vāmadeva created Brāhmins from his mouth, Rājanyas from his breast, the Viś and the Sūdra from his thighs and feet." [After describing in the following verses some other creations of Vāmadeva, the writer proceeds in verse 35:] "The wise Manu Svāyambhuva, having practised austere fervour of the most arduous kind, obtained a beautiful wife named Anantā. On her he begot Priyavrata and Uttānapāda."

Having made Manu the son of Satarūpā, the writer was obliged to give him another female for a wife, as we see he has here done.

It will be observed that in this passage Vāmadeva—and not Brahmā, as in the other Purāṇas—is described as the creator of the four castes.

SECT. X.—*Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa on the Creation, and on the Origin of Castes.*

The substance of the first of the following passages has already been stated above in a note on page 36. Part of it is also quoted in p. 54, and it is more fully cited in the fourth volume of this work, p. 29, but for facility of reference I repeat it here.

Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay edition) ii. 110, 1. *Kṛuddham ajnāya Rāmaṁ tu
Vasiṣṭhaḥ pratyuvācha ha | Jābālir api jānāte lokasyāsya gatāgatim |
2. Nivarttayitu-kāmas tu tvām eṣad vākyam abravīt | imām loka-samut-*

*pattim loka-māha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsi prithivi tatra
nirmīta | tataḥ samabhavat Brahmā Svayambhūr davataiḥ saha | 4. Sa
varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāre vasundharām | aerijach cha jagat sarvaṁ
saha putraiḥ kṛitāmabhiḥ | 5. Ākāśaprabhavo Brahmā śūsvato nitya
avyayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjagne Maricheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ | 6. Vivas-
vān Kaśyapāj jagne Manur Vivasvataḥ svayam | sa tu prajāpatiḥ pūr-
vam Ikshvākus tu Manuḥ sutaḥ | 7. Yasyeyam prathamam dattā samprid-
dhā Manunā mahi | tam Ikshvākum Ayodhyāyām rājānam viddhi pūr-
vakam |*

"1. Perceiving Rāma to be incensed²¹¹ Vasishṭha replied: 'Jābāli also knows the destruction and renovation of this world. 2. But he spoke as he did from a desire to induce you to return. Learn from me, lord of the earth, this (account of) the origin of the world. 3. The universe was nothing but water. In it the earth was fashioned. Then Brahmā Svayambhū came into existence, with the deities. He next, becoming a boar, raised up the earth, and created the entire world, with the saints his sons. 5. Brahmā, the eternal, unchanging, and undecaying, was produced from the æther (*ākāśa*). From him sprang Marīchi, of whom Kaśyapa was the son. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat: and from him was descended Manu, who was formerly the lord of creatures (*prajāpati*). Ikshvāku²¹² was the son of Manu (7) and to him this prosperous earth was formerly given by his father. Know that this Ikshvāku was the former king in Ayodhyā."

The account which I next quote does not agree with the last in its details, as, besides representing the Prajāpatis or sons of Brahmā to be seventeen in number, it places Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Vivasvat in the same rank as contemporaries, while the former narrative declares them to have been respectively father, son, and grandson.

Rāmāyaṇa iii. 14, 5. *Rāmasya vachanam śrutvā kulam ātmānam eva
cha | āchachakṣhe dvijes tasmai sarva-bhūta-samudbhavam | 6. Pūrva-
kāle mahābāho ye prajāpatayo 'bhavan | tān me nigadataḥ sarvān āditaḥ
śṛṇu Rāghava | 7. Kardamaḥ prathamā teshām Vikṛitas tad-anan-
taram | Śeṣaś cha Saṁśrayaś chaiva Bahuputraś cha vīryavān | 8.*

²¹¹ On account of a materialistic and immoral argument which had been addressed to him by Jābāli to induce him to disregard his deceased father's arrangements regarding the succession to the throne. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xix. pp. 303 ff.

²¹² The name Ikshvāku occurs in R. V. x. 60, 4. See Professor Max Müller's article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1856, pp. 434 and 462.

Sthānūr Marīchir Atrīs cha Kratús chaiva mahābalaḥ | Pulastyas chāngirūs chaiva Prachetāḥ Pulahas tathā | 9. Dakṣho Vivasvān aparō 'rishṭanemīs cha Rūghava | Kāśyapaś cha mahatejās teshām āśich cha paśchīmah | 10. Prajāpates tu Dakṣasya bābhuvur iti viśrutāḥ | śaśhṭīr dūhitaro Rāma yaśasvinyo mahāyaśāḥ | 11. Kāśyapaḥ pratijagrāha tāsām aśhtau sumadhyamāḥ | Aditiṁ cha Ditiṁ chaiva Danūm api cha Kālakām | 12. Tāmraṁ Krodhavaśām chaiva Manuṁ²¹⁵ chāpy Analām api | tās tu kanyās tataḥ prītaḥ Kāśyapaḥ punar abravīt | 13. Putrāms trailokyā-bhartṛīn vai janayishyatha mat-samān | Aditis tan-mānāḥ Rāma Ditiścha Danūr eva cha | 14. Kālakā cha mahābāho teshās tv amanaso²¹⁶ bhavan | Adityām jajñire devās trayastrīṁśad arindama | 15. Adityā Vasavo Rudrā Aśvinau cha parantapa | . . . 29. Manur manushyān janayat Kāśyapasya mahātmanāḥ | brāhmaṇān kṣhatṛiyyān vaiśyān śūdrāṁś cha manujarṣhabha | 30. Mukhato brāhmaṇā jātāḥ urasaḥ kṣhatṛiyyās tathā | ūrubhyām jajñire vaiśyāḥ padbhyām śūdrā iti brūtīḥ | 31. Sarvān punya-phalān vṛikṣhān Analā 'pi vyajāyata |

"5. Having heard the words of Rāma, the bird (*Jaṭāyus*) made known to him his own race, and himself, and the origin of all beings. 6. 'Listen while I declare to you from the commencement all the Prajāpatis (lords of creatures) who came into existence in the earliest time. 7. Kardama was the first, then Vikṛita, Sesha, Saṁśraya, the energetic Bahuputra, (8) Sthānu, Marīchi, Atri, the strong Kratu, Pulastya, Angiras, Prachetas, Pulaha, (9) Daksha, then Vivasvat, Arisṭhanemi, and the glorious Kāśyapa, who was the last. 10. The Prajāpati Daksha is famed to have had sixty daughters. 11. Of these Kāśyapa took in marriage eight elegant maidens, Aditi, Diti, Danū, Kālakā, (12) Tāmra, Krodhavaśā, Manu,²¹⁵ and Analā. Kāśyapa, pleased, then said

²¹⁵ *Balām Atibalām api.*—Gorr.

²¹⁶ *Manoratha-kīnūh.*—Comm.

²¹⁵ I should have doubted whether Manu could have been the right reading here, but that it occurs again in verse 29, where it is in like manner followed in verse 31 by Analā, so that it would certainly seem that the name Manu is intended to stand for a female, the daughter of Daksha. The Gauda recension, followed by Signor Gorrero (in. 20, 12), adopts an entirely different reading at the end of the line, viz. *Balām Atibalām api*, "Balā and Atibalā," instead of Manu and Analā. I see that Professor Roth s.v. adduces the authority of the Amara Kośha and of the Commentator on Pāṇini for stating that the word sometimes means "the wife of Manu." In the following text of the Mahābhārata 1. 2553, also, Manu appears to be the name of a female: *Anavadyām Manuṁ Vainśām Asurām Mārgaṇapriyām | Anūpām Subhagām Bhāsim iti Prādhā vyajāyata |* "Prādhā (daughter of Daksha) bore Anavadyā, Manu, Vansā, Asurā, Mārgaṇapriyā, Anūpā, Subhagā, and Bhāsi.

to these maids, (13) 'ye shall bring forth sons like to me, preservers of the three worlds.' Aditi, Diti, Dṣnū, (14) and Kālakā assented; but the others did not agree. Thirty-three gods were borne by Aditi, the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, and the two Aśvins." [The following verses 15-28 detail the offspring of Diti, Danū, Kālakā, Tāmra, Krodhavaśā, as well as of Kraunchī, Bhāṣī, Syeni, Dhṛitarāshṭrī, and Sukī the daughters of Kālakā, and of the daughters of Krodhavaśā. (Compare the Mahābharata, i. 2620-2635; and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. pp. 72 f.) After this we come upon Manu and the creation of mankind.] "29. Manu, (wife) of Kāśyapa,²¹⁶ produced men, Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras. 30. 'Brāhmanas were born from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the breast, Vaiśyas from the thighs, and Sūdras from the feet,' so says the Veda. 31. Anālā gave birth to all trees with pure fruits."

It is singular to observe that in this passage, after having represented men of all castes as sprung from Manu, the writer next adds a verse to state, on the authority of the Veda, that the different castes were produced from the different parts of the body out of which they issued. Unless Manu's body be here meant, there is a contradiction between the two statements. If Manu's body is meant, the assertion conflicts with the common account. And if the Manu here mentioned is, as appears from the context, a woman, we should naturally conclude that her offspring was born in the ordinary way; especially as she is said to have been one of the wives of Kāśyapa.

The next passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 74, 8 f., describes the condition of men in the Kṛita age, and the subsequent introduction of the caste system in the Tretā. The description purports to have been occasioned by an incident which had occurred just before. A Brāhman had come to the door of Rāma's palace in Ayodhyā, carrying the body of his dead son,²¹⁷ and bewailing his loss, the blame

²¹⁶ The text reads Kāśyapa, "a descendant of Kāśyapa," who, according to Rām. ii. 110, 6, ought to be Vivasvat. But as it is stated in the preceding part of this passage iii. 14, 11 f. that Manu was one of Kāśyapa's eight wives, we must here read Kāśyapa. The Gauda recension reads (iii. 20, 30) *Manur manushyānāṁ cha tathā janayāmāsa Bāghava*, instead of the corresponding line in the Bombay edition.

²¹⁷ The boy is said, in 73, 5, to have been *apṛāpta-yauvanam būlam pañcha-varsha-sahasrakam* | "a boy of five thousand years who had not attained to puberty!" The Commentator says that *varsha* here means not a year, but a day (*varsha-sabdo 'tra*

of which (as he was himself unconscious of any fault) he attributed to some misconduct on the part of the king. Rāma in consequence convoked his councillors, when the divine sage Nārada spoke as follows :

8. *Sṛiṇu rājan yathā 'kālḥ prāpto bālasya sankhayaḥ | śrutvā kartavyatām rājan kurushva Raghunandana |* 9. *purā kṛta-yuge rājan brāhmaṇā vai tapasvinaḥ |* 10. *Abrāhmanas tadā rājan na tapasvī kathanchana | tasmin yuge prajvalite brahmabhūte to anāvṛite |* 11. *Amṛityavas tadā sarve jagnire dirgha-darśiṇḥ | tatas tretā-yugaṁ nāma mānavānām vapushmatām |* 12. *Kṣattriyā yatra jāyante pūroṣa tapasā 'nvitāḥ | vīryyeṇa tapasā chaiva te 'dhikāḥ pūrva-janmani | mānavā ye mahātmānas tatra tretā-yuge yuge |* 13. *Brahma kṣattriṇā cha tat sarvaṁ yat pūrvam avaraṁ cha yat | yugayor ubhayor aṣṭ sama-vīryya-samanvitam |* 14. *Apasyantas tu te sarve viśeṣam adhikaṁ tataḥ | sthāpanaṁ chakrire tatra cāturvarṇyasya sammatam |* 15. *Tasmin yuge prajvalite dharmabhūte hy anāvṛite | adharmāḥ pādām kām tu pātayat pṛthivītaḥ | 19. Pātite to anṛite tasminn adharmena mahitale | śubhāny evācharaḥ lokāḥ satya-dharma-parāyanaḥ |* 20. *Tretā-yuge cha varttante brāhmaṇāḥ kṣattriyāś cha ye | tapo'tapyanta te sarve śūśrūṣhām apare janāḥ |* 21. *Sva-dharmāḥ paramas teshāṁ vaiśya-śūdraṁ tadā "gamat | pūjāṁ cha sarva-varṇānām śūdrāś chakrur viśeṣataḥ | 23. Tataḥ pādām adharmasya dvītyam ardhātṛayat | tato dvāpara-sankhyā sā yugasya samajūyata |* 24. *Tasmin dvāpara-sankhye tu varttamāne yuga-kṣaye | adharmāś chānṛitaṁ chaiva vavṛidhe puruṣaḥ śaṣṭha |* 25. *Asmin dvāpara-sankhyāte tapo vaiśyān samāviśat | tribhyo yugebhyas trin varṇān kramād vai tapa āviśat |* 26. *Tribhyo yugebhyas trin varṇān dharmasheṣa parinishṭhitaḥ | na śūdro labhate dharmāṁ yugatas tu naraśaṣṭha |* 27. *Hina-varṇo nṛipa-śreṣṭha tapyate sumahat tapuḥ | bhaviṣhyachchhūdrayonyāṁ hi tapas-charyā kalau yuge |* 28. *adharmāḥ paramo rājan dvāpare śūdra-janmanaḥ | sa vai viśhaya-paryants tava rājan mahātapaḥ |* 29. *Adya tapyati durbuddhis tena bala-badho hy ayaṁ |*

Nārada speaks : 8. "Hear, o king, how the boy's untimely death occurred : and having heard the truth regarding what ought to be

dīnaparāḥ),—just as it does in the ritual prescription that a man should perform a sacrifice lasting a thousand years ("śaṣṭha-saṁvatsaraṁ satraṁ upāsita" *iti vat*),—and that thus some interpreters made out the boy's age to be sixteen, and others under fourteen. But this would be a most unusual mode of reckoning age.

done, do it. ✓ 9. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, Brāhmins alone practised austere fervour (*tapas*). 10. None who was not a Brāhmin did so in that enlightened age, instinct with divine knowledge (or, with Brahma), unclouded (by darkness). 11. At that period all were born immortal, and far-sighted. Then (came) the Tretā age, the era of embodied men, (12) in which the Kshattriyas were born, distinguished still by their former austere fervour; although those men who were great in the Tretā age had been greater, both in energy and austere fervour, in the former birth. 13. All the Brāhmins and Kshattriyas, both the former and the later, were of equal energy in both Yugas.²¹⁸ 14. But not perceiving any more distinction (between the then existing men) they all²¹⁹ next established the approved system of the four castes. 15. Yet in that enlightened age, instinct with righteousness, unclouded (by darkness), unrighteousness planted one foot upon the earth." [After some other remarks (verses 16-18), which are in parts obscure, the writer proceeds:] 19. "But, although this falsehood had been planted upon the earth by unrighteousness, the people, devoted to true righteousness, practised salutary observances. ✓ 20. Those Brāhmins and Kshattriyas who lived in the Tretā practised austere fervour, and the rest of mankind obedience. 21. (The principle that) their own duty was the chief thing pervaded the Vaiśyas and Sūdras among them: and the Sūdras especially paid honour to all the (other) classes. . . . 23. Next the second foot of unrighteousness was planted on the earth, and the number of the Dvāpara (the third yuga) was produced. 24. When this deterioration of the age numbered as the Dvāpara, had come into existence,

²¹⁸ The Commentator says, this means that in the Kṛita age the Brāhmins were superior, and the Kshattriyas inferior (as the latter had not then the prerogative of practising *tapas*), but that in the Tretā both classes were equal (*ubhayaṃ yugayor madhye kṛita-yuge brahmin pūrvam tapo-vīryābhyām utkrishṭum kshattriāṃ chāvarām cha tābhyām tapo-vīryābhyām nyūnam āsit | tat sarvum brahma-kshattri-rūpam ubhayam tretāyām sama-vīrya-samanvītam āsit | kṛite kshattriānām tapasy anedhikārāt tadnyūgiyebhyo brāhmaṇebhyas teshām nyūnatā | tretāyām tu ubhayaṃ rāpe tapo-dhukārād ubhāv apī tapo-vīryābhyām samau |* But in the previous verse (12) it is said that the Kshattriyas were born in the Tretā distinguished by their former *tapas*. But perhaps they were formerly Brahmins, according to verses 9, 10, and 12.

²¹⁹ Manu and other legislators of that age, according to the Commentator (*Manu-ādayaḥ sarve tātkālikāḥ dharma-pravarttanādāhnikṛtāḥ*) He adds that in the Kṛita age all the castes were spontaneously devoted to their several duties, although no fixed system had been prescribed (*kṛite tu vinaiṇa sthāpanam svayam eva sarve varṇāḥ sva-sva-dharma-ratāḥ*).

unrighteousness and falsehood increased. 25. In this age, numbered as the Dvāpara, austere fervour entered into the Vaiśyas. Thus in the course of three ages it entered into three castes; (26) and in the three ages righteousness (*dharma*) was established in three castes. But the Sūdra does not attain to righteousness through the (lapse of these three) ages. 27. A man of low caste performs a great act of austere fervour. Such observance will belong to the future race of Sūdras in the Kālī age, (28) but is unrighteous in the extreme if practised by that caste in the Dvāpara. On the outskirts of thy territory such a foolish person, of intense fervour, is practising austerity. Hence this slaughter of the boy."

Here then was a clue to the mystery of the young Brāhman's death. A presumptuous Sūdra, paying no regard to the fact that in the age²²⁰ in which he lived the prerogative of practising self-mortification had not yet descended to the humble class to which he belonged, had been guilty of seeking to secure a store of religious merit by its exercise. Rāma mounts his car Pushpaka, makes search in different regions, and at length comes upon a person who was engaged in the manner alleged. The Sūdra, on being questioned, avows his caste, and his desire to conquer for himself the rank of a god by the self-mortification he was undergoing. Rāma instantly cuts off the offender's head. The gods applaud the deed, and a shower of flowers descends from the sky upon the vindicator of righteousness. Having been invited to solicit a boon from the gods, he asks that the Brāhman boy may be resuscitated, and is informed that he was restored to life at the same moment when the Sūdra was slain. (Sections 75 and 76.)²²¹

The following curious account of the creation of mankind, among whom it states that no distinction of class (or colour) originally existed, is given in the Uttara Kānda, xxx. 19 ff., where Brahmā says to Indra :

*Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ ṛṣikṣās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāḥ
sama-bhāṣhā eka-rūpāḥ cha sarvaśaḥ | 20. Tāsāṃ nāsti viśesho hi darśane
lakṣhaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgramanūs tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam |
21. So 'ham tāsāṃ viśeshārtham strīyam ekām vinirmame | yad yat
prajānām pratyangam viśiṣṭāṃ tat tad uddhṛitam | 22. Tato mayā*

²²⁰ The Tretā, according to the Commentator.

²²¹ See the Rev Professor Banerjea's Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, pp. 44 ff., where attention had previously been drawn to the story.

*rūpa-guṇair ahalyā strī vinirmatā | halam nāmeha vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ
tat-prabhatam bhavet | 23. Yasyā na vidyate halyam tenāhalyeti viśrutā |
Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyā nāma prakīrtitā | 24. Nirmatāyām cha
devendra tasyām nāryām surarshabha | bhaviṣyatīti kasyaiśhā mama
chintā tato 'bhavat | 25. Tvaṁ tu Śakra tadā nārīm jñātshe manasā
prabho | sthānādhikātayā patnī mamaisheti purandara | 26. Sa mayā
nyūsa-bhūtā tu Gautamasya mahātmanaḥ | nyastā bhānī varshāṇi tena
niryātītā cha ha | 27. Tatas tasya parijnāya mahāsthairyam mahāmuni-
neḥ | jñātvā tapasi siddhīm cha patny-arthaṁ sparśitā tadā | 28. Sa
tayā saha dharmātmanā ṛmate sma mahāmuniḥ | āsan nīrāsā devās tu
Gautame dattayā tayā | 29. Tvaṁ kruddhas tv iha kāmātmā gatvā
tasyāśramam muneḥ | drishṭarāṁś cha tadā tām strīm dīptām agni-
śikhām va | 30. Sā twayā dharshitā Śakra kāmārttena samanyunā |
drishṭas tvaṁ cha tadā tena āsrame paamarśiṇā | 31. Tataḥ kruddhena
tenāsi śaptāḥ paramatejasā | gato 'si yena devendra duṣā-bhōya-vi-par-
yayam | .*

19. O chief of the immortals (Indra) all creatures were formed by my will of one class (or colour), with the same speech, and uniform in every respect. 20. There was no distinction between them in appearance, or in characteristic marks. I then intently reflected on these creatures. 21. To distinguish between them I fashioned one woman. Whatever was most excellent in the several members of different creatures was taken from them, (22) and with this (aggregate) I formed a female, faultless in beauty and in all her qualities. *Ugla* means 'ugliness,' and *halya*, 'what is produced from ugliness.' 23. The woman in whom there is no *halya*, is called *Ahalyā*. And this was her name to which I gave currency. 24. When this female had been fashioned, I anxiously considered to whom she should belong. 25. Thou, Indra, didst, from the eminence of thy rank, determine in thy mind, 'She must be my spouse.' 26. I, however, gave her in trust to the great Gautama; and after having retained her in charge for many years, he restored her. 27. Knowing then the great steadfastness of that distinguished Muni, and the perfection of his austere fervour, I, in due form, gave her to him for his wife. 28. The holy sage lived with her in the enjoyment of connubial love. But the gods were filled with despair when she had been given away to Gautama. 29. And thou, Indra, angry, as well as inflamed with lust, wentest to the Muni's hermitage,

and didst behold that female brilliant as the flame of fire. 30. She was then corrupted by thee who wert tormented by lust, as well as heated by anger.²²² But thou wert then seen by the eminent rishi in the hermitage, (31) and cursed by that glorious being in his indignation. Thou didst in consequence fall into a reverse of condition and fortune," etc., etc.

SECT. XI.—*Extracts from the Mahābhārata on the same subjects.*

The first passage which I shall adduce is from the Ādi Parvan, or first book, verses 2517 ff.:

Vaiṣampāyana uvācha | *hanta te kathayishyāmi namaskṛitya Svayambhūva* | *surādīnāṃ ahaṃ samyak lokānāṃ prabhavūpyayam* | *Brahmaṇo mānasāḥ putrāḥ viditāḥ śhaṇ-maharshayaḥ* | *Marīchir Atry-angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ* | *Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu prajā imāḥ* | *prajājnire mahābhāgū Dakṣa-kanyās trayodaśa* | 2520. *Aditir Dūtir Danuḥ Kālā Danūyuh Sindhikā tathā* | *Krodhā Pradhā eha Viśvā eha Vinatā Kapilā Munih* | *Kadrūś eha manyavyāghra Dakṣa-kanyava Bhārata* | *etāsūṃ vīrya-sampannam putra-pautram anantakam* |

"Vaiṣampāyana said: I shall, after making obeisance to Svayambhū, relate to thee exactly the production and destruction of the gods and other beings. Six²²³ great rishis are known as the mind-born sons

²²² In regard to this story of Indra and Ahalyā, as well as to that of Brahmā and his daughter, above referred to, see the explanation given by Kumāṛila Bhutta, as quoted by Professor Max Muller in his Hist of Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 529 f. The name of Ahalyā is there allegorically interpreted of the night, to which this name is said to have been given because it is absorbed in the day (*ahani tīyamānatayā*). Indra is the sun.

²²³ Another passage (S'ūnti-p. 7569 ff) raises the number of Brahmā's sons to seven by adding Vasuṣṭha *Ekah Svayambhūr bhagavān ādya Brahmā sanātanaḥ* | *Brahmaṇah sapta vai putrā mahātmānah Svayambhūvaḥ* | *Marīchir Atry-Angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ* | *Vasūṣṭhaścha mahābhāgaḥ sadṛśo vai Svayambhūvā* | *sapta Brahmāna ity ete puruṣa nīśchayaṃ gatāḥ* | "There is one primeval eternal lord, Brahmā Svayambhū; who had seven great sons, Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasuṣṭha, who was like Svayambhū. These are the seven Brahmās who have been ascertained in the Puranic records" In another part of the same S'āntiparvan, verses 12685 ff, however, the Prajāpatīs are increased to twenty-one: *Brahmā Sthānuḥ Manuḥ Dakṣo Bhṛiguḥ Dharmas tathā Yamaḥ* | *Marīchir Angurā 'truscha Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ* | *Vasūṣṭhaḥ Parameshṭhi eha Vvasvān Soma eva eha* | *Kardamaś cāpi yah proktaḥ Krodho Vikṛita eva eha* | *ekavīṃśatir utpannās te prajāpatayaḥ smṛitāḥ* | "There are reputed to have been twenty-one Prajāpatīs produced, viz. Brahmā, Sthānu, Manu, Dakṣa, Bhṛigu, Dharma, Yama, Marīchi,

of Brahmā, viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu. Kāśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kāśyapa sprang these creatures. There were born to Daksha thirteen daughters of eminent rank, (2520) Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā, Danāyu, Sindhikā, Krodhā, Pradhā, Viśvā, Vinatā, Kapilā, and Muni.²²⁴ Kadrū also was of the number. These daughters had valorous sons and grandsons innumerable."

Daksha, however, had other daughters, as we learn further on in verses 2574 ff., where the manner of his own birth also is related :

*Dakṣas tv ajāyatāṅguṣṭhād dakṣiṇād bhagavān ṛṣiḥ | Brahmanah
prithivīpāla śāntātmā sumahātapaḥ | vāmād ajāyatāṅguṣṭhād bhāryā
tasya mahātmanah | tasyām panchāśatam kanyāḥ sa evājanayad muniḥ |
. . . . 2577. Dadau cha daśa Dharmāya sapta vimśatim Indavo | divyena
vidhuna rājan Kāśyapāya trayodaśa | 2581. Paitāmahaḥ Manur
devas tasya putrah prajāpatiḥ | tasyāṣṭau Vasavaḥ putrās teṣām vak-
shyāmi vīṣṭaram | 2595. Stanam tu dakṣiṇam bhūtvā Brah-
maṇo nara-vigrahaḥ | nisṛjito bhagavān Dharmah sarva-loka-sukhāvahaḥ |
trayas tasya varāḥ putrāḥ sarva-bhūta-manoharāḥ | Samah Kūmaś cha
Harśaś cha tejasā loka-dhārīṇah | 2610. Āruṣhī to Manoh
kanyā tasya patnī manīṣiṇah | 2614. Deau putrau Brahmanas
tv anyau yayoḥ tīṣṭhathi lakṣaṇam | loka Dhātā Vīdhātā cha yau sthītau
Manunā saha | tayor eva svasā devī Lakṣmī padma-grihā subhā | tasyās
tu mānasāḥ putrās turagāḥ vyoma-chārīṇah | 2617. Prajānām
annakāmānām anyonya-paribhakṣaṇāt | Adharmas tatra sanjātaḥ sarva-
bhūta-vināśakāḥ | tasyāpi Nirṛitir bhāryā nairṛitā yena Rākṣasāḥ |
ghorās tasyās trayah putrāḥ pūpa-karma-ratāḥ sadā | Bhayo Mahā-
bhoyas chaiva Mrityur bhūtāntakas tathā | na tasya bhāryā putro vā
kaśchid asty antako hi saḥ |*

Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasīsthā, Parameshtin, Vivasvat, Soma, the person called Kardama, Krodha, and Vikṛita." (Here, however, only twenty names are specified including Brahmā himself.) Compare this list with those quoted above, p. 116, from the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 14, 7 ff., from Manu in p. 36, and from the Vishṇu P. in p. 65.

²²⁴ That Muni is a name, and not an epithet, is shown (1) by the fact that we have otherwise only twelve names; and (2) by her descendants, both gods and gandharvas, being afterwards enumerated in verses 2550 ff. (*ity ete deva-gandharvā Mauneyāḥ parakīrtitāḥ*). Kapilā, another of the thirteen daughters of Daksha is said to have been the mother of Ambrosia, Brāhmanas, Kine, Gandharvas and Apsarasas (*amṛtam brāhmaṇā gāvo gandharvāpsarasas tathā | apatyam kapilāyās tu purāṇe parakīrtitām* |).

"2574. Daksha, the glorious rishi, tranquil in spirit, and great in austere fervour, sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā.²²⁵ From the left thumb sprang that great Muni's wife, on whom he begot fifty²²⁶ daughters. Of these he gave ten to Dharma, twenty-seven to Indu (Soma),²²⁷ and according to the celestial system, thirteen to Kaśyapa." I proceed with some other details given in the verses I have extracted: 2581. "Pitāmaha's descendant, Manu, the god and the lord of creatures, was his (it does not clearly appear whose) son. The eight Vasus, whom I shall detail, were his sons. . . . 2595 Dividing the right breast of Brahmā, the glorious Dharma (Righteousness), issued in a human form, bringing happiness to all people. He had three eminent sons, Sama, Kāma, and Harsha (Tranquillity, Love, and Joy), who are the delight of all creatures, and by their might support the world. . . . 2610. Arushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of that sage (Chyavana, son of Bhṛigu). . . . 2614. There are two other sons of Brahmā, whose mark remains in the world, Dhātri,²²⁸ and Vīdhātri, who remained with Manu. Their sister was the beautiful goddess Lakshmī,²²⁹ whose home is in the lotus. Her mind-born sons are the steeds who move in the sky. . . . 2617. When the creatures who were desirous of food, had devoured one another, Adharma (Unrighteousness) was produced, the destroyer of all beings. His wife was Nirṛiti, and hence the Rākshasas are called Nairritas, or the offspring of Nirṛiti. She had three dreadful sons, continually addicted to evil deeds, Bhaya Mahābhaya (Fear and Terror) and Mrityu (Death) the ender of beings. He has neither wife, nor any son, for he is the ender."²³⁰

The next passage gives a different account of the origin of Daksha; and describes the descent of mankind from Manu:

Adip. 3128. *Tyobhur uditāḥ sarve maharshi-sama-tejasaḥ | daśa Pra-*

²²⁵ See above, p. 72 f. The Matsya P. also states that Daksha sprang from Brahmā's right thumb, Dharma from his nipple, Kāma from his heart, etc.

²²⁶ The passage of the Rāmāyana, quoted above, p. 116, affirms that they were sixty in number. Compare Wilson's Vishnu P. vol. i. pp. 109 ff., and vol. ii. pp. 19 ff.

²²⁷ The Taitt. Saṁhitā, ii. 3, 5, 1, says Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave to King Soma (*Prajāpates trayastriṁśad duhītarā āsan | tūḥ Somāya rājne 'dadāt*).

²²⁸ Dhātri had been previously mentioned, in verse 2523, as one of the sons of Aditi. See also Wilson's Vishnu P. ii. 152.

²²⁹ See Wilson's Vishnu P. i. pp. 109, 118 ff., 144 ff. and 152.

²³⁰ The Vishnu P. (Wilson, i. 112) says he had five children.

*chetasaḥ putrāḥ santaḥ puṇya-janūḥ smṛitāḥ | mukhajenāgninā yaso te
pūrvaṁ dagdhā mahaujasah | tebhyaḥ Prāchetaso jajne Dakṣo Dakṣād
imāḥ prajāḥ | sambhūtāḥ puruṣa-vyūghra sa hi loka-pitāmahaḥ |
Vīriṇyā saha sangamya Dakṣaḥ Prāchetaso munīḥ | ātma-tulyān aja-
nayat sahasraṁ śaṁṣita-vratān | sahasra-sankhyān sambhūtān Dakṣa-
putrāṁś cha Nāradaḥ | mokṣam adhyāpayāmāsa sāṅkhya-jñānam anut-
tamam | tataḥ panchāśataṁ kanyūḥ putrikūḥ abhisandadhe | Prajāpatiḥ
prajāḥ Dakṣaḥ sṛṣṭikṣur Janamejaya | dadau cha daśa Dharmāya
Kāśyapāya trayodaśa | kālasya nayane yuktūḥ saptavimsatim Indave |
3135. Trayodaśānām patnīnām yā tu Dakṣhāyaṇī varā | Mārīchaḥ
Kāśyapas tasyām Adītyān samajijunat | Indrādīn vīryya-sampannān
Vivasvantam athāpi cha | Vivasvataḥ suto jajne Yamo Vairasvataḥ pra-
bhuh | Mārtaṇḍasya Manur dhīmān ajāyata sutaḥ prabhuh | Yamaś
chāpi suto jajne khyātas tasyānuyah prabhuh | dharmātmā sa Manur
dhīmān yatra vaṁśah pratishṭhitah | Manor vaṁśo mānavūnām tato 'yam
prathito 'bhavat | brahma-kṣatrādayas tasmād Manor jātās tu mānavāḥ |
tato 'bhavad mahārāja brahma kṣattreṇa sangatam | 3140. Brāhmaṇā
mānavās teshām sāgam vedam adhārayan | Fenam Dhṛiṣṇuṁ Narīṣ-
yantaṁ Nābhūgeksvākum eva cha | Kūrūṣham atha Sāryatiṁ tathā
chavāśṭham Ilām | Prishadhraṁ narāmam prōkhuḥ kṣattrā-dharma-
parāyaṇam | Nābhūgārīṣṭa-daśamān Manoh putrān prachakṣate | pan-
chāśat tu Manoh putrās tathavānye 'bhavan kṣitau | anyonya-bhedāt te
sarve vineśur iti naḥ śrutam | Puṣṭaravas tato vidvān Ilāyūṁ samapad-
yata | sū vai tasyābhavad mātā pitā chaiveti naḥ śrutam |*

"3128. Born all with splendour, like that of great rishis, the ten sons of Prachetas are reputed to have been virtuous and holy; and by them the glorious beings²³¹ were formerly burnt up by fire springing from their mouths. From them was born Daksha Prāchetasa,²³² and from Daksha, the Parent of the world (were produced), these creatures. Cohabiting with Viriṇī, the Muni Daksha begot a thousand sons like himself, famous

²³¹ "Trees and plants," according to the Commentator (*mahāprabhūv vrikshau-shadhayāḥ*). Compare Wilson's Vishṇu P. ii. p. 1

²³² The same account of Daksha's birth is given in the Sāntip. 7573 *Dasānām tanayas tv eko Dakṣo nāma prajāpatiḥ | tasya dee nūmanī loka Dakṣaḥ Ka ity cho-ohyate* | "These ten Prachetas had one son called Daksha, the lord of creatures. He is commonly called by two names, Daksha and Ka" (Compare vol. iv. of this work, p. 13, note 30, and p. 24, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 4, 1, 19, and ii. 4, 4, 1, there quoted.) The following verse 7574 tells us that Kāśyapa also had two names, the other being Arishtanemi. See Rām. iii. 12, 9, quoted above.

for their religious observances, to whom Nārada taught the doctrine of final liberation, the unequalled knowledge of the Sāṅkhya. Desirous of creating offspring, the Prajāpati Dakṣa next formed fifty daughters, of whom he gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kaśyapa, and twenty-seven, devoted to the regulation of time,³³³ to Indu (Soma). . . . 3135. On Dākṣhāyani,³³⁴ the most excellent of his thirteen wives, Kaśyapa, the son of Marīchi, begot the Ādityas, headed by Indra and distinguished by their energy, and also Vivasvat.³³⁵ To Vivasvat was born a son, the mighty Yama Vaivasvata. To Mārtanda (*i.e.* Vivasvat, the Sun) was born the wise and mighty Manu, and also the renowned Yama, his (Manu's) younger brother. Righteous was this wise Manu, on whom a race was founded. Hence this (family) of men became known as the race of Manu. Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas, and other men sprang from this Manu. From him, o king, came the Brāhman conjoined with the Kṣatriya. 3140. Among them the Brāhmans, children of Manu, held the Veda with the Vedāṅgas. The children of Manu are said to have been Vena, Dhriṣṇu, Narishyanta, Nābhāga, Ikshvāku, Kārusha, Saryāti, Ilā the eight, Prihadra the ninth, who was addicted to the duties of a Kṣatriya, and Nābhāgarishṭa the tenth. Manu had also fifty other sons; but they all, as we have heard, perished in consequence of mutual dissensions. Subsequently the wise Purūras was born of Ilā, who, we heard, was both his mother and his father."

/The tradition, followed in this passage, which assigns to all the castes one common ancestor, removed by several stages from the creator, is, of course, in conflict with the account which assigns to them a fourfold descent from the body of Brahmā himself.

The Śāntiparvan, verses 27.9 ff., contains an account of the origin of castes which has evidently proceeded from an extreme assertor of the dignity of the Brahmanical order. The description given of the prerogatives of the priestly class is precisely in the style, and partly in almost the identical words, of the most extravagant declarations of

³³³ This phrase *lālasya nayana yuktāḥ* had previously occurred in verse 2580, where it is followed by the words *sarvā nakṣatra-yoginyo loka-yūtrā-vidhānataḥ* | "all identified with the lunar asterisms, and appointed to regulate the life of men." See also Vishnu P. i. 15, 56, and Professor Wilson's translation ii. p. 10, note 1, and p. 28, note 1.

³³⁴ *i.e.* Aditi. See verses 2520, 2522, and 2600 of this same book.

³³⁵ The account in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 5 ff., agrees with this in making Kaśyapa son of Marīchi, and father of Vivasvat.

Manu (i. 99 f.) on the same subject. In other places, however, the Mahābhārata contains explanations of a very different character regarding the origin of the distinctions, social and professional, which prevailed at the period of its composition. A comparison of these various passages will afford an illustration of the fact already intimated in p. 6,²⁵⁰ that this gigantic poem is made up of heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies, the later portions having been introduced by successive editors of the work to support their own particular views, without any regard to their inconsistency with its earlier contents. In fact, a work so vast, the unaided compilation of which would have taxed all the powers of a Didymus Chalkenterus, could scarcely have been created in any other way than that of gradual accretion. And some supposition of this kind is certainly necessary in order to explain such discrepancies as will be found between the passages I have to quote, of which the three first are the productions of believers (real or pretended) in the existence of a natural distinction between their own Brahmanical order and the other classes of the community, while the two by which these three are followed have emanated from fair and moderate writers who had rational views of the essential unity of mankind, and of the superiority of moral and religious character to any factitious divisions of a social description.

In the first passage, Bhīshma, the great uncle of the Pāndus, when describing to Yudhishtira the duties of kings, introduces one of those ancient stories which are so frequently appealed to in the Mahābhārata. Without a minute study of the poem it would be difficult to say whether these are ever based on old traditions, or are anything more than mere vehicles invented to convey the individual views of the writers who narrate them. Bhīshma says, Śāntiparvan, 2749 :

*Ya eva tu sato rakshed asatāś cha nivarttayet | sa eva rājā karttavyo
rājan rāja-purohitaḥ | 2750. Atrāpy udāharantīmam utihāsam purā-
tanam | Purūravasa-Atiśaya saṁvādam Mātariśvanaḥ | Purūravā uvācha |
Kutaḥ evid brāhmaṇo jāta varṇāś cāpi kutaś trayāḥ | kasmāccha bhavati
śreṣṭhas tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | Mātariśvovācha | Brahmaṇo mu-
khataḥ śreṣṭho brāhmaṇo rāja-sattama | bākubhyāṁ kṣattriyaḥ śreṣṭha
urubhyāṁ vaiśya eva cha | varṇānām parichāryyārtham trayāṇām Bha-*

²⁵⁰ See also the fourth volume of this work, pp. 141 ff. and 152.

*ratarashabha | varṇas caturthaḥ sambhūtaḥ padbhyām śūdro vinirmitaḥ |
brāhmaṇo jñamāno hi prithivyām anuyāyate*²⁵⁷ | *īśvaraḥ sarva-bhūtānām
dharma-koshasya guptaye | 2755 Ataḥ prithivī yantāram kṣattriyaṁ
daṇḍa-dhāraṇe | dvitīyam Daṇḍam akarot prajānam anutṛīptaye | vaiśyas
tu dhana-dhānyena trīṇ varṇān bibhṛīyād imān | śūdro hy etān pa-
rechared iti Brāhmīnusaśanam | Aśa uvācha | dvijasya kṣattrabandhor
vā kasyeyam prithivī bhavet | dharmataḥ saha vittena samyag Vāyo pra-
chakāshva me | Vāyur uvācha | viprasya sarvam evaitad yat kinchya jagati-
gatam | jyeshṭhenābhyānenēha tad dharma-kūśalā viduḥ | svam eva brāh-
maṇo bhunkte svam taste svam dadāti cha | gurur hi sarva-varṇānām
jyeshṭhaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ cha var dvijaḥ | 2760. Paty-abhāve yathava stri
devaram kurute patim | eṣa te prathamaḥ kalpā āpady anyo bhaved
gataḥ |*

“2749. The king should appoint to be his royal priest²⁵⁸ a man who will protect the good, and restrain the wicked. 2750. On this subject they relate this following ancient story of a conversation between Purūravas the son of Ilā, and Mātariśvan (Vāyu, the Wind-god). Purūravas said: You must explain to me whence the Brāhmaṇ, and whence the (other) three castes were produced, and whence the superiority (of the first) arises. Mātariśvan answered. The Brāhmaṇ was created from Brahmā's mouth, the Kṣattriya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs, while for the purpose of serving these three

²⁵⁷ Manu, i. 99, has *adhi-jāyate*.

²⁵⁸ *Rāja-purohitaḥ*. The king's priest (*rāja-purohitaḥ*) is here represented as one who should be a confidential and virtuous minister of state. Such is not, however, the character always assigned to this class of persons. In Manu xii. 16, quoted above (p. 41f.), the purohita is placed in a lower class than other Brāhmaṇs. And in the following verse (4627) of the Anuśāsanaparvan, taken from a story in which the Rishis utter maledictions against anyone who should have stolen certain lotus roots, part of the curse spoken by Viśvāmitra is as follows: *varshācharo'stu bhṛtako'rjñas chāstu purohitaḥ | ayīgyasya bhavatu rītvig visa-stamyaṁ karoti yāḥ* | “Let the man who steals lotus roots be a hireling trafficker in rain incantations (?) and the domestic priest of a king, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhmaṇ should officiate.” Again, in verse 4679, the same person says: *karotu bhṛtako'varshām rjñas chāstu purohitaḥ | rītvig astu hy ayīgyasya yas te karoti pushkaram* | “Let him who steals thy lotus perform as a hireling incantations to cause drought, and be a king's domestic priest, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhmaṇ should officiate.” I have had partly to guess at the sense of the words *varshācharaḥ* and *avarshām*. The Commentator does not explain the former, and interprets the latter (for which the Edinburgh MS. reads *avarshāḥ*) by *vyuṣhti-mbandhan*, “causing drought.” He adds, *pushhāḥ eva avarshāḥ*, “those who cause drought are most wicked.”

castes was produced the fourth class, the Sūdra, fashioned from his feet. The Brāhman, as soon as born, becomes the lord of all beings upon the earth, for the purpose of protecting the treasure of righteousness. 2755. Then (the creator) constituted the Kshattriya the controller of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahmā's ordinance that the Vaiśya should sustain these three classes with money and grain, and that the Sūdra should serve them. The son of Ilā then enquired: Tell me, Vāyu, to whom the earth, with its wealth, rightfully belongs, to the Brāhman or the Kshattriya? Vāyu replied: All this, whatever exists in the world, is the Brāhman's property²³⁰ by right of primogeniture: this is known to those who are skilled in the laws of duty. It is his own which the Brāhman eats, puts on, and bestows. He is the chief of all the castes, the first-born and the most excellent. Just as a woman when she has lost her (first) husband, takes her brother-in-law for a second; so the Brāhman is thy first resource in calamity; afterwards another may arise."

/ A great deal is shortly afterwards added about the advantages of concord between Brāhmanas and Kshattriyas. Such verses as the following (2802): "From the dissensions of Brāhmanas and Kshattriyas the people incur intolerable suffering" (*mitho bhedād brāhmaṇa-kshattriyāṇāṃ prajā dukkhaṃ dussahaṃ chūṛiṣanti*) afford tolerably clear evidence that the interests of these two classes must frequently have clashed.

In the same strain as the preceding passage is the following:

Vanaparvan, 13436. *Nādhyaṇānād yājanād vā anyasmād vā pratigrahāt | doṣho bhavati viprāṇāṃ pulitāgni-samā devyāḥ | durvedā vā suvedā vā prakṛitāḥ saṃskṛitās tathā | brāhmaṇā nāvamanantaryā bhasmachannā vāgnayāḥ | yathā śmaśāne dīptauyāḥ pāvako nava dushyati | evaṃ vidvān avidvān vā brāhmaṇo dāvatam mahat | prakūṛais cha puradvāṛaiḥ prāsādais cha pṛithag-vidhais | nagarāṇi na śobhante kīṇāni brāhmaṇottamais | vedādhyā vṛttā-sampannā jñānavantas tapasvinaḥ | yatra tiṣṭhanti vai viprās tan-nāma nagarāṇi nṛipa | vraje vā py athavā*

²³⁰ Kullūka, the Commentator on Manu (i. 100), is obliged to admit that this is only spoken in a panegyrical or hyperbolical way, and that property is here used in a figurative sense, since theft is afterwards predicated by Manu of Brāhmanas as well as others ("svam" *ni stutyā uchyate | svam eva evaṃ na tu svam eva | brāhmaṇasyūpi Manuṇā stoyasya vaśyāmanātvāt*).

'*raṇye yatra santi bahu-śrūtāḥ | tat tad nagaram ity āhuḥ pārtha tīr-
thaṁ cha tad bhavet |*

"No blame accrues to Brāhmins from teaching or sacrificing, or from receiving money in any other way: Brāhmins are like flaming fire. Whether ill or well versed in the Veda, whether untrained or accomplished, Brāhmins must never be despised, like fires covered by ashes. Just as fire does not lose its purity by blazing even in a cemetery, so too, whether learned or unlearned, a Brāhman is a great deity. Cities are not rendered magnificent by ramparts, gates, or palaces of various kinds, if they are destitute of excellent Brāhmins. 13440. The place where Brāhmins, rich in the Veda, perfect in their conduct, and austere fervid, reside, is (really) a city (*nagara*). Wherever there are men abounding in Vedic lore, whether it be a cattle-pen, or a forest, that is called a city, and that will be a sacred locality."

The following verses from the Anuśāsanap. 2160 ff. are even more extreme in their character, and are, in fact, perfectly sublime in their insolence:

*Brāhmaṇānām paribhaviṭ asurāḥ sahlā śayāḥ | brāhmaṇānām prasā-
dāḥ cha devāḥ svarga-nivāsinaḥ | āśakyāṁ sraṣṭum ākāśam achālyo
himavān giriḥ | adhāryyā setunā Gangā durjayā brāhmaṇā bhuvi | na
brāhmaṇa-virodhena śakyā śāstum vasundharā | brāhmaṇā hi mahātmāno
devānām api devatāḥ | tān pūjyasva satatāṁ dūnena paricharyyayā |
yadichhasi mahīm bhoktum imām sāgara-mekhalām |*

"Through the prowess of the Brāhmins the Asuras were prostrated on the waters; by the favour of the Brāhmins the gods inhabit heaven. The ether cannot be created; the mountain Himavat cannot be shaken; the Gangā cannot be stemmed by a dam; the Brāhmins cannot be conquered by any one upon earth. The world cannot be ruled in opposition to the Brāhmins; for the mighty Brāhmins are the deities even of the gods. If thou desire to possess the sea-girt earth, honour them continually with gifts and with service."

The next passage seems to be self-contradictory, as it appears to set out with the supposition that the distinction of castes arose after the creation; while it goes on to assert the separate origin of the four classes:

*Sāntiparvan, 10861. Janaka uvācha | varṇo viśeṣa-varṇānām ma-
hārṣhe kena jāyate | etad icchāmy ahaṁ jñātum tad brūhi vadatām vara |
yad etaj jāyate 'patyaṁ sa evāṣm itī śrūtiḥ | katham brāhmaṇato jāto*

*viśeṣhe grahaṇaṁ gataḥ | Parāśara uvācha | Evam etad mahārāja yena
jātaḥ sa eva saḥ | tapasas tv apakarṣheṇa jātigrahaṇatām gataḥ | sukshe-
trācheḥa suvijāḥ cha puṇyo bhavati sambhavaḥ | ato 'nyatarato hinād
avaro nāma jāyate | 10865. Vaktrād bhujābhyām ūrubhyām padbhyām
chaivūtha jāyire | sṛjataḥ Prajāpater lokān iti dharmavido viduḥ | mu-
khaḥ brāhmaṇas tāta bāhyāḥ kṣattriyāḥ smṛitāḥ | ūrjāḥ dhanīno
rājan pādajāḥ parichārakāḥ | chaturṇām eva varṇūnām āgamaḥ puru-
ṣaḥśabhaḥ | ato 'nye vyatirikta ye te vai sankarajāḥ smṛitāḥ |
10870. Janaka uvācha | Brahmaṇaikaena jātūnām nānātvaṁ gotrataḥ
katham | bahūnīha hi loka vai gotrāṇi muni sattama | yatra tatra kathaṁ
jātūḥ svayonim (? suyonim) munayo gatāḥ | śuddha-yonau samutpannā
viiyonau cha tathā 'pare | Parāśara uvācha | rājan nāstad bhaved grāhyam
apakṛiṣṭeṇa janmanā | matātmanām samutpattis tapasā bhāvitātmanām |
utpādya putrān munayo nripate yatra tatra ha | svenaiva tapasā teshām
ṛiṣitvam pradādhuḥ punaḥ | . . . 10876. Ete svām prakṛitim prāptā
Vaidaha tapasośrayāt | pratīṣṭhitā veda-vido damena tapasāiva hi |*

“Janaka asks: 10861. How, o great rishi, does the caste of the separate classes arise? Tell me, as I desire to know. According to the Veda, the offspring which is born (to any one) is the very man himself. How does offspring born of a Brāhman fall into distinct classes? Parāśara replied: It is just as you say, o great king. A son is the very same as he by whom he was begotten; but from decline of austere fervour, (men) have become included under different classes. And from good soil and good seed a pure production arises, whilst from those which are different and faulty springs an inferior production. Those acquainted with duty know that men were born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Prajāpati when he was creating the worlds. The Brāhmans sprang from his mouth, the Kṣattriyas from his arms, the merchants from his thighs, and the servants from his feet. The scriptural tradition speaks only of four classes. The men not included in these are declared to have sprung from a mixture (of the four). . . . 10870. Janaka asked: How is there a difference in race between men sprung from one and the same Brahmā? for there are now many races in the world. How have Munis born anywhere (indiscriminately) entered into a good family; some of them having sprung from a pure source and others from an inferior stock? Parāśara replied: It would not be credible that noble-minded men, whose souls

had been perfected by austere fervour, should have been the offspring of a degraded birth. Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour." The speaker then names a number of sages (10876) "famed for their acquaintance with the Veda, and for their self-command and austere fervour," as "having all attained to their respective conditions by practising the latter observance."

In the latter verses the speaker appears to admit, at the very moment that he denies, the degraded origin of some of the renowned saints of Indian antiquity. What else is the meaning of the verse, "Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour?" No doubt it is intended to represent those as exceptional times: but while we refuse to admit this assumption, we may find some reason to suppose that the irregularities, as they were afterwards considered to be, which this assumption was intended to explain away, were really samples of the state of things which commonly prevailed in earlier ages.

The next extract declares that there is a natural distinction between the Brāhmanas and the other castes; and appears to intimate that the barrier so constituted can only be overpassed when the soul re-appears in another body in another birth:

Anuśāsana-parva, 6570. *Deva uvācha | Brāhmanyāṁ devī dushprāpyāṁ nisargād brāhmaṇaḥ śubhe | kṣhattriyo vaiśyaśūdrau vā nisargād iti me matiḥ | karmaṇā dushkṛiteneha sthūnād bhraśyati vai dvijaḥ | jyeṣṭham varṇam anuprāpya tasmād rakṣeta vai dvijaḥ | sthito brāhmaṇa-dharmena brāhmanyam upajirati | kṣhattriyo vā 'tha vaiśyo vā brahmabhūyam sa gachhati | yas tu brahmatvam uterjya kṣātraṁ dharmāṁ nishkate | brāhmanyāt sa paribhraṣṭaḥ kṣattrā-yonau prajāyate | vaiśya-karma cha yo vipro lobha-moha-ryapāśrayaḥ | brāhmanyāṁ durlabham prāpya karoty alpa-matiḥ sadā | sa dvijo vaiśyatām eti vaiśyo vā śūdratām iyat | sa-dharmāt prachyuto vipras tataḥ śūdratvam āpnute | . . . 6590. Ebhis tu karmabhir devī śubhair ācharitais tathā | śūdro brāhmaṇatām yāti vaiśyaḥ kṣhattriyatām vrajet | śūdra-karmāṁ sarvāṁ yathānyūyam yathāvidhi | śūśrūṣām paricharyyām cha jyeṣṭhe varṇe prayatnataḥ | kuryād ityādī |*

Mahādeva says: 6570. "Brāhmanhood, o fair goddess, is difficult to

be attained. A man, whether he be a Brāhman, Kshattriya, Vaiśya, or Sūdra, is such by nature; this is my opinion. By evil deeds a twice-born man falls from his position. Then let a twice-born man who has attained to the highest caste, keep it. The Kshattriya, or Vaiśya, who lives in the condition of a Brāhman, by practising the duties of one, attains to Brāhmanhood. But he who abandons the state of a Brāhman and practises the duty of a Kshattriya, falls from Brāhmanhood and is born in a Kshattriya womb. And the foolish Brāhman, who, having attained that Brāhmanhood which is so hard to get, follows the profession of a Vaiśya, under the influence of cupidity and delusion, falls into the condition of a Vaiśya. (In like manner) a Vaiśya may sink into the state of a Sūdra. A Brāhman who falls away from his own duty becomes afterwards a Sūdra. . . . 6590. But by practising the following good works, o goddess, a Sūdra becomes a Brāhman, and a Vaiśya becomes a Kshattriya: Let him actively perform all the functions of a Sūdra according to propriety and rule. *i.e.* obedience and service to the highest caste," etc.

The next passage is the first of those which I have already noted, as in spirit and tenor very different from the preceding. The conversation which it records arose as follows: Yudhishtira found his brother Bhīmasena caught in the coils of a serpent, which, it turned out, was no other than the famous king Nahusha, who by his sacrifices, austerities, etc., had formerly raised himself to the sovereignty of the three worlds; but had been reduced to the condition in which he was now seen, as a punishment for his pride and contempt of the Brāhmanas. He promises to let Bhīmasena go, if Yudhishtira will answer certain questions. Yudhishtira agrees, and remarks that the serpent was acquainted with whatever a Brāhman ought to know. Whereupon the Serpent proceeds:

Vana-parva, verses 12463 ff.: *Sarpa uvācha | brāhmaṇaḥ ko bhaved rījan vedyam kim cha Yudhishtira | 12470. Braviḥy atimatiṃ tvām hi vākyaair anumimimaha | Yudhishtira uvācha | satyaṃ dānam kṣamā śīlam anṛisamśyaṃ tapo ghrīṇā | drīṣyantaḥ yatra nāgendra sa brāhmaṇaḥ iti smṛtiḥ | vedyam sarpa param Brahma nirduḥkham sukham cha yat | yatra gatvā na śochanti bhavataḥ kim vṛakṣitam | Sarpa uvācha | chāturoarṇyam pramāṇam cha satyaṃ cha brahma chaiva hi | Sūdreṣu api cha satyaṃ cha dānam akrodha eva cha | anṛisamśyam ahimsā cha ghrīṇā chaiva Yudhishtira | vedyam yach chātura nirduḥkham sukham cha na-*